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More o moxolo



Selumi (M)



Mmakxadi



Selumi (F)

The above drawings show the ornamental designs on the four principal pieces (natural size).

THE ART OF DIVINATION AS PRACTISED BY THE BAMASEMOLA

PART I

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

All the South African tribes practise divination in some form or other. The most widespread method of gaining insight into the realm of the unknown is that of divination by means of a set of small bones, small pieces of horn and ivory or objects of a similar nature. Mr. Coertze has collected all the available data for South Africa in an article on Divination¹ which is now in the press. I do not intend to discuss here his theory of migration of divinatory practices, I merely wish to point out that he had occasion to comment on the meagreness of the relevant information. It is indeed, surprising that so little is known about this subject, although we Europeans are exceedingly interested in the Native methods of divining and are often impressed by their results. On the other hand the throwing of bones is so complicated a matter, that I can well understand why most authors are unable to offer more than a superficial account. Besides, one can hardly expect the Native diviner to unfold all his much cherished knowledge to inquisitive Europeans, who, moreover, seldom show real and adequate appreciation of his art.

Thanks to Junod we are well acquainted with the astragalomancy of the BaThonga,² but for all the other southern Bantu tribes we have only descriptions of various bone-sets and no inside knowledge of the process of divination. There is one notable exception; Mapetla³ has written an illuminating article on the methods of divination employed by the South-BaSotho, but since it has been published in SeSotho only, I doubt whether many students of this subject are aware of its existence. Seeing that our knowledge of astragalomancy is on the whole so limited,

¹P. J. Coertze, *Dolosgooiery in Suid-Afrika Annale van die Uniwersiteit van Stellenbosch*, 1931. A very important article on *Wahrsagerei bei den Venda* has in the meantime been published by E. Giesekke in the *Leitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* Bd. xxi, 4.

²H. Junod: *The Life of a South African Tribe*, 1927.

³J. Mapetla: *Liphoofolo, Linonyana, Litaola, etc.* Morija 1924.

I hope that students of Native life in South Africa will find my account of the divinatory rites of the BaMasemola helpful. At the same time I want to say that I am aware of its incompleteness. Perhaps I shall be able to fill in some of the gaps at a later date, but as this is by no means certain, I believe it is right to publish what information I have.

The BaMasemola are one of the Transvaal BaSotho tribes. They are now resident in the Middelburg district near Pokwani, but according to their tradition they came from Swaziland only some twelve generations ago to their present home, where they have been completely Sothoized. Although I had been able to acquire several astragali-sets of the BaSotho, I could not obtain any useful information as to the methods of divination until I met Tumiše Maledimo, a Native doctor of Masemola, who offered to instruct me in the theory of "bone throwing."

Tumiše Maledimo, a middle-aged man who is said to be a successful practitioner, was extremely modest in his behaviour. He started by stating that his own knowledge of astragalomancy was far from complete, but that he would try and teach me what he knew. He added that he would like me to understand, that he did not claim infallibility. One might compare the information received through the medium of the bones with dreams, he said, in as much as it might prove to be either correct or incorrect. I doubt, however, whether my friend the doctor shows the same humility when he is actually consulted by his fellow tribesmen.

Maledimo is dressed in ordinary European clothes and wears none of the awe-inspiring emblems which we are wont to connect with his profession. He does not, he says, believe in outward show but in real efficiency. He carries his medicines and his set of bones in a small bag of European make, because Native bags are not safe enough. Through using Native-made bags he had already lost several valuable pieces, which could be replaced only with great difficulty. His medicine powders, however, were all contained in bags of mole-skin. About the latter he was very reticent and did not wish to name their ingredients. To show me that they contained no poison he swallowed a little of each medicine. Most of the medicinal powders had been concocted to cure women's ailments and venereal diseases, from which, according to him, most Natives returning from a term of service in European towns are suffering. I relate all this to show that Maledimo and I got on very well together and discussed many topics freely. I have no hesitation in stating that the information given by him in connection with astragalomancy is perfectly trustworthy.

Tumiše Maledimo was initiated into the medical profession by his father who was also a doctor. He has inherited several of the bones in his set from his father, and these are so worn with age and use that they have lost all distinctive appearance. No other doctor would be able to divine by means of Maledimo's set, because he would not be able to recognise the various bones. It is precisely these pieces which our doctor values most highly.

Since a diviner has to learn and remember a great number of ritual chants, he must complete an exacting course of training before he is allowed to practise. To strengthen his memory and to make his mind responsive to his father's teaching, Tumiše Maledimo was given several magic medicines to drink, of which *Pelotheri* and *Pelomarova* were the most important. Sometimes he would be told to drop the bones into a wooden dish filled with Native beer, which is not transparent, and to guess the position of the principal pieces. Then he had to drink the beverage and look to see whether his forecast had been correct. Maledimo was apparently lucky in his guesses and was able to satisfy his father that he would become an ornament to the profession, for a correct forecast under these circumstances is held to be a very good omen.

After Maledimo had served his apprenticeship with his father he visited various famous doctors in Vendaland and Bechwanaland in order to acquire the finishing touches. But even now, he assures me, he is only too glad to meet colleagues and to enrich his store of knowledge in the give-and-take way. That is why he is able to recite more than one formula in connection with one and the same throw in several cases.

Tumiše Maledimo looks upon his set of bones as part of his own personality. He would not, for instance, dream of undertaking any important step—such as the disclosing of the divinatory rites to me—without first obtaining their permission. Whenever he takes a pinch of snuff, he will throw a little to the bones also, for there must be complete harmony and understanding between the diviner and his set of astragali.

THE DIVINATORY APPARATUS OF THE BABINA-TAU

The pieces of which the divining set is made up are not all bones, but since the majority belongs to this class, it is perhaps permissible to speak collectively of bones for the sake of brevity. The set which is used by T. M. consists of four principal pieces and forty-two accessory ones. To divine by means of such bones is to *laola* and the bones themselves are called *ditaola* or *dikxaxare*.

A. THE PRINCIPAL DITAOLA

There are four pieces which are not only the most important ones, but without which divination is not even possible. They "rule over" all the other bones and according to the way in which they fall, relative to one another, the general position of the bones is determined. While a set which lacks some of the minor bones can still be used subject to certain limitations, it would not be possible to give any interpretation whatsoever without these four major objects. Two of them are male and two are female.

(1) The *More o moxolo* (the great tree or medicine) is the great chief of the *ditaola*. It was cut from the tip of the hoof of an ox which was slaughtered at the celebration of Chief Thulare's marriage.

(2) The *Selumi* (M) (the young warrior) stands for the younger chief. It was cut from the hoof of an ox of lesser importance.

Both pieces have ornaments incised on one side only. The triangles which appear black on the drawings have been cut into the surface.

Each of these hoof-pieces has four sides on which it can fall. The position in which it falls is called its *lewa* (fall; pl. *mawa*). Should it fall in its natural position, on the sole-surface, then it is said to have put its foot down, it has trodden, it walks (*o xatile*, *o a sepela*),⁴ but since the decorated side will then face upwards, it is just as customary to say: it shows its face, it is smiling (*o sexile*, *o thabile*).

If the hoof-piece lies on its face, then it is said to have covered its face, to be sad or dead (*o fifetše*, *o nyamile*, *o hwile*), but it may also be merely resting or sleeping.

Should it fall on the natural inner surface of the hoof, then they say: it has cooked (*o apeile*), for, according to Maledimo, it then resembles a pot set on the fire-place. This position indicates activity of a favourable nature.

If ultimately it rests on the cut-surface, where it has been cut from the hoof, they say: it has cut, or chopped (*o remile*), and this is held to be the position of dangerous activity.

a. *O sexile* (S), b. *O nyamile* (N), c. *O apeile* (A), d. *O remile* (R).

⁴It depends on the subject whether the pronoun *o* or the pronoun *se* is to be employed; e.g. *selumi se a sepela*; *mmakxadi o a sepela*.

There are accordingly the following four positions for each of the hoof-pieces :

When dealing with the various possible throws I shall use the capital letters S, N, A, R as symbols for the above positions respectively.

When we take into consideration the *More o moxolo* and the *Selumi* (M) only, it is clear that these two pieces can together fall in sixteen different ways.

(3) The *Mmakxadi* who is the wife of the *more o moxolo*.

(4) The *Selumi* (F) who is the wife of the *Selumi* (M). Her full name is *Selumi se sethsadi*.

These two pieces of ivory are also ornamented on one side only, the one with small triangular and the other with small round holes. They are quite flat and can fall in two ways only ; they either lie on their faces and weep (N) or they show their faces and smile (S). The same symbols N and S will thus serve to indicate their position.

Taken by themselves the female pieces can fall in four different ways, but if we throw them together with the male pieces, as must be done, we obtain a possible total of sixty-four different positions for the four principal *ditaola*.

But the direction in which the two ivory slabs point is sometimes taken into account. (They point with that side into which a notch has been cut). This is done only when :

- (a.) both females are smiling and both males are weeping, or
- (b.) one female is smiling and the three other pieces are weeping.

This means that the ivory slabs are allowed three positions in the above cases ; they can point towards the operator, away from him or they can lie crosswise before him. When as in case (a), both females are smiling and both men have covered their faces, the former two must behave exactly alike. Should one point one way and the other another way, then the throw does not count and must be repeated.

This means that three of the sixty-four throws are actually threefold, and so we arrive at a possible total of seventy different throws for the divinatory bones of this particular tribe.

Unfortunately Maledimo is no mathematician and could not therefore follow this reasoning. So when we had discussed forty-one different positions he was unable to understand why I wanted the names

and the interpretation of twenty-nine more. Maledimo was, in fact, rather tired by that time. Still, seeing that Mapetla mentions only thirty-nine throws for his four principles, the result seems to be quite satisfactory, especially as Maledimo added a number of praise-songs for the other bones. In any case he now holds the record for reproducing from memory the divinatory lays of the BaSotho.⁵

As to the designs on the *More o moxolo*, the *Mmakxadi*, the *Selumi* (M) and the *Selumi* (F) Maledimo tells me that they are purely ornamental, and at the same time serve to distinguish from each other the two males and the two females. This statement is presumably correct; the designs have certainly been imported from the north via BaVendaland, for I have seen other divinatory sets of the BaSotho where these principal pieces were distinguished by size only and bore no design. So it seems that not much importance is attached to the ornamental designs.

The small holes cut into the ivory slabs are filled with some black material and this too, I am told, is done merely for the sake of embellishment.

THE MINOR OR TOTEMIC BONES OF THE DIVINATORY SET

The set with which Maledimo demonstrated the method of divination consists, as has been said already, of four principal and forty-two less important pieces. While the former number is fixed the latter is only accidental. Our doctor is actually still looking for some bones to make his set more complete. The majority of the forty-two accessory pieces are bones of animals, by preference the astragali taken from their hindlegs.

These astragali represent the various totemic clans of the BaSotho and a full set should contain at least two bones of each totem-animal, one male and one female. The male bone stands for the men of the particular totem-clan and the female for the women. A third bone of the same kind may be added to represent their children. These bones must be actually taken from the hindlegs of male, female and young animals respectively.

Maledimo has in his possession two astragali of the male bushbuck, of which he uses one only, but no corresponding bone from a female animal. When I suggested that it would serve his purpose equally well to use both these bones and call one of them female, he was very much

⁵The *direto* given by Mapetla differ from those recited by Maledimo.

shocked by this frivolous proposal. He explained that one must be perfectly honest with regard to such serious matters. It would never do to evade the laws of bone-throwing, else the whole set would lose its efficiency. This scrupulous honesty is all the more remarkable, since he himself cannot always distinguish between his male and female bones—usually the male bone is larger—and has had to mark the female one in several cases. He does that by binding it with a piece of wire.

He hopes to get his set complete eventually by exchanging the duplicates he has for the bones that are still wanting.

In this connection I want to say most emphatically that the Natives are very much in earnest about the art of divining and will not employ any means that are not worthy of their profession. No makeshift methods of obtaining astragali are allowed. A bone taken from a carcass rotting on the veld is quite useless; if it is to serve its purpose it must be taken from a virile animal which has just been killed. Nor would it do to take a bone from an animal which is not perfectly normal in every respect.

The following is a list of the totemic bones contained in Maledimo's set :—

1	<i>Serolo</i>	Bushbuck	male only	
2	<i>Kxama</i>	Hartebeest	female only	
3, 4	<i>Letlabo</i>	Red buck	male and female	
5, 6	<i>Thsephe</i>	Springbok	"	"
7, 8, 9	<i>Khudu</i>	Tortoise	"	" and child.
10, 11, 12	<i>Tau</i>	Lion	"	" "
13, 14, 15	<i>Phuti</i>	Duiker	"	" "
16, 17	<i>Malope</i>	Stem buck	"	" —
18, 19	<i>Lekwena</i>	Reed buck	"	" —
20, 21	<i>Kôme</i>	Chamois	"	" —
22, 23	<i>Posiri</i>	Hyena	"	" —
24	<i>Thakadu</i>	Antbear	"	— —
25, 26, 27	<i>Tlou</i>	Elephant	male and female	and child
28, 29	<i>Thôlo</i>	Kudu	"	" —
30, 31, 32	<i>Lewatle</i>	Sea shell	"	" "
33, 34	<i>Thswene</i>	Baboon	"	" —
35, 36	<i>Nkwe</i>	Leopard	"	" —
37	<i>Pôo ya dikxomo</i>	(Cattle) bull	"	— —

The antbear serves as representative of the gods or the Europeans. The gods, that is their dead fathers, rest underground and the Europeans

dig in the ground for minerals, and so both of them resemble this animal. The antbear is very scarce and it is for this reason that Maledimo has one bone only.

The sea shells represent the Europeans—people who have come from beyond the ocean.

In the case of the tortise portions of its shell serve instead of bones. Toe joints are used instead of astragali of lion and leopard, one in each case. A difficulty arises in the case of the elephant for no elephants are now available. In these circumstances its place is taken by the wild pig, because both animals have tusks. The bull represents home and family.

There are five more pieces which do not represent clans or particular groups of people :—

38, 39	<i>Pudi</i>	Goat	Male and female.
41	<i>Nku</i>	Sheep	Female only.

These bones are connected with rain, although the connection is not perfectly clear. Both animals appear to shun rain, so that an unfavourable position in their case points to the coming of rain. It is difficult however, to see why there should be both male and female bones in the one case and only one bone in the other, for it would be very easy to obtain the male sheep-bone.

41	<i>Tladi</i>	Lightning-bird	A toe-joint.
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This bone of the Flamingo is of importance when the bones are consulted about the weather prospects or asked to point out the sorcerer who has sent lightning to destroy his enemy's hut.

42	<i>Lemetša</i>	A stone found in the entrails of a goat.	
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This stone proves useful to the diviner when he is consulted in connection with internal ailments. It is well known that Native physicians often pretend to heal patients by sucking stones from their bodies. This is apparently the reason why this little stone is included in the set.

When we examine an astragalus we will see that it has four sides on which it can fall :—⁶

(a) a broad convex side.

(b) a broad concave side in opposition to side (a).

⁶It is remarkable that Junod, in his discussion of divination by means of bones, takes into consideration only the two broad surfaces. A few experiments will convince anyone that these bones often take up the positions (c) and (d).

(c) a narrow slightly concave surface.

(d) a narrow flat surface, somewhat shorter than surface (c) and in opposition to it.

Accordingly every astragalus bone can fall in four different ways (*taola e na le mawa a mane*):—

1. *E a sepela* (it walks) when it rests on side (b) and side (a) is facing upwards. This is the most favourable position.

2. *Tibula*, when it rests on side (a). This is the worst possible position. It means death or illness, but may also indicate sleep or rest.

3. *Moropa*, when it rests on side (c). This indicates favourable activity.

4. *Lešika*, when it rests on side (d). This spells activity of a dangerous nature.

Besides the individual position of the bone (*lewa*) its position relative to the other bones is important and also the direction in which it points—an astragalus points with the small hornlike projections found on one of its sides.

One or two examples will serve to illustrate the importance of this relative position. If a lion-bone is in the *Tibula* position and a duiker-bone lies quite near to it in the *Lešika* position and pointing towards it, then there is some grave danger from the duiker people threatening the lion-clan.

Should the duiker, however, be in the *Moropa* position, *ceteris paribus*, then it may mean that the duiker-clan is actually going to help the unhappy lion people, or the latter may be receiving gifts from the duiker.

Were the duiker-bone pointing in the opposite direction, it would mean that the danger in the former case or the friendly intercourse in the latter are matters of the past.

The actual interpretation will, however, always depend on the key-position of the four principal *ditaola*.

THE DIRETO (PRAISE-SONGS)

Before describing the method of procedure adopted by the diviner a few words of explanation must be said in connection with the *direto*, which must accompany the various throws. I was able to take down

some fifty of these *direto* at the dictation of Maledimo. Now the language employed in these chants is by no means modern Setho. For this reason I asked Mr. Phokanoka, a Native teacher, to take them down as well, and we were able to compare notes afterwards. I trust that the SeSotho version of the *direto* is fairly correct, the more so as I found another Native, Titus, some time later, who knew many of the chants by heart and actually suggested some emendations. Some of the parallel chants I even took down at his dictation.

The *direto* are problematic in more than one way. First of all the language used is poetic and archaic SeSotho. Secondly it would be quite contrary to all the principles of divination to have oracular sayings expressed in clearcut sentences which everybody can understand. They must on the contrary be of a cryptic nature to serve their purpose really well.⁷ The chant itself is not an interpretation but a fixed formula which merely serves as basis for the interpretation, and therefore clarity of expression would be a defect rather than an asset. Thirdly these songs are recited with what seems to be periodical emphasis. I was not able to understand the laws governing this rhythmical recitation and the Natives themselves apparently know very little about it.

Owing to these difficulties I feel somewhat diffident about my translation of the chants, but I believe that the attempt had to be made, as the SeSotho version alone would have meant very little to most students of social anthropology. I further felt that in order to preserve something of the spirit of the original it was necessary to make use of European rhythm in translating the song-formulae. The translation is not quite literal, but seeing that the SeSotho text is available, I do not think that this is a very grave defect.

THE PROCESS OF DIVINATION

The divinatory bones are consulted either to discover the cause of illness, death and misfortune or to learn whether some enterprise will prove successful. In every case the person who seeks the advice of the diviner must himself throw the bones. That is to say, he himself must put the question to them and contact between him and the bones must be established. Where this is impracticable as in the case of a person who is seriously ill, the bones must at least be touched with some or other of his garments. When, however, questions are put to the bones which affect the tribe as a whole, such as asking whether the time is opportune

⁷ Compare Giesekke, P. 269: "Das Urteil des Zauberers trifft daneben, Träfe es den Kopf, so würde es wirkungslos sein."

for tilling the fields or initiating the young men or declaring war, then the doctor himself will manipulate the bones.

The operator takes all the bones in his two hands and blows or spits on them, so as to make them understand what question he has in mind, and then he throws them on a mat or on a skin-blanket. Whoever may cast the bones, it is always the diviner himself who interprets the resulting position. This is entirely a matter of collaboration between him and the bones and so he tries to establish complete communion by reciting a praise-song in honour of the *ditaola*. He believes that, after he has called them by their names and praised them, he will be able to read aright the message which they convey to him.

This is the first praise-song which he recites :

GENERAL PRAISE-SONG (SERETO).

You my white ones, children of my parents,
Whom I drank from mothers breasts !
And you many coloured cattle
Whom I knew when still on mother's back,
From whose hoofs these chips were cut ;
Hoofs of cattle black and red and yellow.

Oh these men are evil doers.
They do rob and steal and injure,
They can slay an elephant with slender stalk,
And they even did so but last summer.
But the rain does come with thunder !

It is they who seek the love of woman-snake,
Who will fight and struggle for that mistress,
That did strike our cattle this last summer.
Thieves they are and foes to harmless men.

But the waters thunder past the river banks.

Here the diviner first speaks of the relationship existing between himself and the bones. Then he goes on to explain that it is his object to discover with the help of his Lones, who the enemies of mankind are. This is possible, because coming events throw their shadows before them and crimes that have been committed leave a trail behind. (Thunder—rain—overflowing rivers).

Even now the diviner does not immediately look to see how the bones have fallen, but proceeds to *reta* (praise) those particular bones, which he considers to be the pillars of strength in his set. It may be, however, that, while reciting these *direto*, he finds time to think of an appropriate interpretation.

- A. *More o moxolo*. The mighty chief ! Hear how he threatens !
 He says : My anger is aroused.
 What I did give, I take it back again.

(The chief has power to punish those who have incurred his displeasure).

- B. *Mmakxadi*. The friendly queen whom all do praise !
 Some one who shuns the light of day
 Did travel here in gloomy night,
 And evil did he contemplate.
 But 'tis in vain. You err, O witches,
 You people who do feast by night.

(Through the *Mmakxadi's* help it will be possible to frustrate all evil designs).

- C. *Selumi (M)*. You come and warn me on my way.
 Come, whisper counsel in my ear.
 No man unwarned is left to perish,
 For you *Selumi* know the place
 Where sharptoothed leopard lies in wait.

(The *Selumi* is the faithful friend who warns us of approaching danger).

- D. The Baboon. The monkey's son who makes us laugh,
 Whose father once did cut his finger,
 With sugarcane he cut it deeply,
 And it began to ache and hurt.
 Now who would not have cut it off ?

I had been out to gather food,
 And now returned my basket full.
 Just then I slipped and fell,
 And all my food was mixed with dirt.
 That which has gone does not return,

Had I baboon but had the lion's strength,
Not one had dared to walk across my veld.

(Homage is paid to the intellect of the baboon. He lacks strength only, else he would have been the king of animals.)

E. The Hyena. Look the growling chief of robbers,
Herdsman of the calfless cows,
From his filthy lair has risen,
And has hurt a harmless child.
Like the wicked witches,
You are wont to kill at night.

(The cowardly hyena often attacks young calves. It is for this reason that it is called the herdsman of the calfless cows).

F. The Lion. It is the lion from Makxopye,
The country where the sun does scorch.
Look how he wears the royal beads
And claims to be the country's master.

G. The Thunderbird. A bird that dwells on river banks
And basks in rays of warming sun,
Whose spears and darts are fiery red.

(Apparently the Flamingo receives from the sun those fire darts which he is supposed to fling).

H. The Duiker. The duiker feeds at early dawn,
Then hides in kloof and mountain gorge
To stay at home in hidden lair.
The hunters lose its axe-shaped spoor,
And hunt in vain their quarry.

I. The Kudu. I am the Kudu-bull !
I do not die of age,
And he who hunts me down
Has cause to weep thereafter.

(When a Kudu has been killed, its spirit must be appeased by magic rites).

J. The Steenbuck. The steenbuck with its ruddy coat
Has scraped and scratched the ground.
This is the steenbucks trail ;
These are his covered droppings.

(This antelope is wont to cover its droppings with sand, just as cats do.)

- K. The Antbear. The antbear sent by gods from heaven
 Has come to make his home with me.
 The antbear wades through marshy water
 And leaves his droppings in the dew.
 You are the ox with iron scales,
 A sheep and yet a crocodile.
 Come antbear leave the road,
 For you must teach the women,
 Must teach them how to hoe.
 You show the iron-smelters
 To forge their spears and axes,
 And then you lead us to the fray.

*THE FORMULAE WHICH ARE RECITED IN CONNECTION
 WITH THE VARIOUS THROWS*

After the diviner has spoken the general *sereto* and has also praised several of the individual bones, he goes on to inspect the four principal pieces, to name the throw and to recite the proper formula. These formulae are of a stereotype nature and must always be repeated in exactly the same way. After I had taken down all the *direto* following below, I tested Maledimo on this point. I placed the bones in various positions and asked him to speak the appropriate *direto*. He did so without any hesitation and in each case he repeated the *sereto* word for word just as I had written it down on one of the previous days.

On the other hand he knew more than one suitable chant in several cases, but he could not say where or when they had first been used. In some of the *direto* certain, apparently historical, persons are referred to by name. This leads me to the conclusion that each *sereto* must have been recited in the first instance on some memorable occasion by a famous diviner. His disciples would then repeat these words of their master as a fixed formula whenever this particular throw recurred. Such a theory accounts for the existence of rival formulae in connection with one and the same throw. Some, however, of the parallel formulae differ very little only and must be looked upon as variant versions of the same original chant.

In a number of cases, but not always, there is a clear connection between the position of the four principal pieces and the *sereto*. The language employed is, as has been stated already, of enigmatic nature and allows much scope for the interpretation. I have added to most of the formulae a short explanatory note to show how the throw may be

interpreted, but I wish to stress the fact, that in every case the number of possible interpretations is directly proportionate to the diviner's gift of imagination.

Where no such note is added, it is either because the meaning has been made sufficiently clear by the translation or because I had no explanation to offer.

I. The *Selumi* (F) is smiling (S) and lies crosswise in front of the operator. The other pieces are sad (N), lying on their faces.

The voice of an expectant mother !
I want to speak and cannot speak,
I want to hear and cannot hear,
I want to find and seek in vain,
I strain my eyes to find me food,
'Tis all in vain, no food they see.

Here the bones foretell hardships in connection with childbirth, abnormal times or famine.

II. The *Selumi* (F) is on its feet (S) and is pointing away from the operator. The other pieces are lying on their faces (N).

Now the rich and proud do covet.
Herdsman of the spirits' cattle,
When you lead them out to pasture,
Lead them, drive them past the fathers' graves.
Let them come and count their cattle,
Them who own the well swept fire-place.

This throw may be interpreted as a warning to the guardians of orphans ; they are to deal faithfully with the goods entrusted to their care. Again it warns the rich against overbearing behaviour.

III. The *Selumi* (F) is on its feet (S) and is pointing towards the operator. The other pieces are lying on their faces (N).

When in summer all the barns are full,
And you want to make a child a present,
Ask him thus before you make him take it :
Are you hungry, have you had enough ?
For he might just take and throw away,
Saying : I have had my fill at home already.
But this points to mother, to my father's wife,
Who is planning evil now as ever.

She has poisoned father but the other day.
 I will also kill her, kill with poison ;
 From *thoxwane* poison she shall die.
 Fool I was to think that mother loved me.
 Hard and gritty food she offers me,
 When my teeth do ache with pain.
 When my eyes are sore and burning,
 She will light a smoky fire in my very face.

Somebody, a stepmother for instance, is suspected of witchcraft. When the harvest has been plentiful and everybody has more food than he requires, it arouses suspicion if you press people to accept food from you. Evidently this throw also points to the evil consequences arising from polygamy ; mutual jealousy of the co-wives and the bad treatment of husband and children which results from it.

IV. All the pieces have fallen on their faces (N).

Attack and dreadful robbery !
 The fields lie waste and bare,
 All trampled down by hostile feet.

This is the worst possible position. As everybody is suffering equally, disasters coming from external sources must have befallen them.

V. All the pieces are on their feet (S).

Fearful omens, secret danger,
 Prowling cats of night-time ;
 No not cats, but witches,
 Owls that prey on hapless mice.

This is a prediction of strife. Everyone is ready to fight. It may be that the children are up in arms against their parents.

VI. The *Selumi* (M) has fallen on his face (N), the others are smiling (S).

Dangers threatening from all quarters,
 Circle round you from all sides,
 Will surround you like a village fence.

The words of this chant merely serve to stress the complete isolation of the *Selumi* (M) in his misfortune. Apparently all the others have taken sides against him.

- VII. *More o moxolo* : A.
Mmakxadi and Selumi (F) : S.
Selumi (M) : N.

The flooded river sweeps away
 The helpless hippopotamus.
 From bank to bank 'tis cast,
 Its nostrils clash against the rocks.

The *Selumi* (M) is here represented as an unfortunate hippopotamus. The position is much the same as in VI, only the attitude of the *more o moxolo* has changed and is no longer entirely antagonistic.

- VIII. *More o moxolo* : R.
Mmakxadi and Selumi (F) : S.
Selumi (M) : N.

All the sky is overcast,
 And the rain begins to drizzle.
 All the dassies creep to shelter,
 Go to hide in cave and crevice,
 Will not venture forth to pasture.

The position which is otherwise the same as in VI and VII is aggravated by the hostile activity of the *more o moxolo*. It would be extremely rash to embark on any enterprise under such circumstances.

- IX. *More o moxolo* : N.
Mmakxadi and Selumi (F) : S.
Selumi (M) : S.

The trouble comes from pieces white ;
 One is in front, one is behind.
 This does not tell of distant cause ;
 It points to your own village gate,
 Your threshold it does implicate.

The trouble is caused by someone who lives in the same village. Very likely the women are guilty. In any case it will not be difficult to discover the cause.

- X. *More o moxolo* : N.
Mmakxadi and Selumi (F) : S.
Selumi (M) : A.

They speak of pain and suffering,
 Of illness that is coming soon.
 See how she trembles now with pain !
 Her stomach would not pain like that,
 The pangs of childbirth tear her womb.
 You son of mighty warrior,
 This is between the two of you,
 Between the husband and his wife
 To give and take in secrecy.

The bones here declare that the party consulting the doctor need not be alarmed by abnormal circumstances, which are merely symptomatic of pregnancy. The last few lines refer to the cohabitation of husband and wife which has led to pregnancy.

- XI. *More o moxolo* : N.
Mmakxadi and Selumi (F) : S.
Selumi (M) : R.

Sanya younger son of our parents,
 Sanya wears the royal necklace
 And it suits his kingly carriage.
 Sanya owns the royal cattle.
 Should my kraal be full of cattle,
 Then will all the people hate me.
 Should my barns be filled with corn,
 They will even seek to kill me.
 Where, O Sanya, can I live in peace ?

This position of the bones may indicate the attempt of a younger brother (*Selumi* (M)) to deprive the rightful heir of his heritage.

- XII. *More o mokoxlo* : N.
Mmakxadi : S. It points away from the operator.
Selumi (M) and *Selumi* (F) : N.

Version a. Behold the fierce and angry mother
 Who comes to ravage and lay waste.
 When all I have destroyed,
 Then turn I back once more
 To my far distant home.
 But what I have destroyed
 Is past and gone for ever,
 And never will be seen again.

Version b. Her home destroyed, the huts unthatched,
 The queen does now depart from here.
 Her children will be seen no more.
 That which is gone is gone for ever,
 'Tis lost in depth that can't be measured.

According to the first version the *Mmakxadi* is herself the cause of the calamity which has befallen all the others. According to the second she is the only one who has survived the general destruction. In both cases she is leaving the country once and for always.

XIII. *More o moxolo* : N.

Mmakxadi : S. It points towards the operator.

Selumi (M) and *Selumi* (F) : N.

The cow does walk and waddle
 And dance a heavy dance.
 She sings the hornless dancer,
 She does not dance and sing for naught,
 She has good reason for her joy.
 Come let us slay the hornless beast, they say.
 Oh no ! This cow can not be slain :
 Her life is charmed with magic charms,
 Her godlike parents do protect her.
 The wind is like a prowling beast.
 She knows the fountainhead of wealth,
 Where all the riches can be found.

This throw predicts a triumph for the *Mmakxadi*. By supernatural means she is able to vanquish her enemies and to become all-powerful.

VIX. *More o moxolo* ; *Mmakxadi* and *Selumi* (F) : N.

Selumi (M) : S.

The lion-god is running to and fro,
 But duiker starts and wins the race.
 Here is the lioncat once more,
 This must affect the lion people.

XV. *More o moxolo*, *Mmakxadi* and *Selumi* (F) : N.

Selumi (M) : A.

O fav'rite son of gods arise,
 Arise and gird thyself to battle !
 You need not fear the en'my's strength,
 You have already overcome,

To the hailstones speeding down from heaven
 Did I merely bend my back undaunted.
 Who can hurt or harm the son of gods ?

XVI. *More o moxolo, Mmakxadi and Selumi* (F) : N.
Selumi (M) : R.

Lightning from Limpopo's banks,
 Darts of fire come from Kodi's hand.
 He is coming with his razor,
 He will shave the widows' heads.
 See the widows mourning for their husbands,
 Dancing, shrieking, shouting as possessed !

In the above three throws only the *Selumi* (M) shifts his position while the other three pieces remain quite stationary and inactive. There seems to be no causal connection between throw No. XIV and the accompanying chant. In No. XV the *Selumi* is extolled, apparently because he is the only one who has withstood the onslaught of the enemy. In No. XVI he is no longer merely defending himself ; it is predicted that he will make many a woman a widow. A woman who has lost her husband must shave her head as a sign of mourning.

XVII. *More o moxolo* : S.
Mmakxadi, Selumi (M) and *Selumi* (F) : N.

O dignity of silver-headed age !
 With precious trophies is his head adorned,
 With tufts and tassels black and white
 From tail of hare and mountain rabbit.
 A proud possession is your silver hair ;
 The dead that have departed long ago
 Behold your head with wonder and with envy.

The Natives have a great respect for old age. This chant is recited to predict long life and great honours for the chief who outlives all his contemporaries and even arouses the envy of the gods. The hair of old Natives turns grey, but perfectly white hair is hardly ever seen.

XVIII. *More o moxolo* : A.
Mmakxadi, Selumi (M) and *Selumi* (F) : N.

The chief must heavy burdens bear,
 The loads of all his fellows.
 They have succumbed along the road,

But he does come and carry home
The heavy loads that were abandoned.

Here again the chief is praised for being the mainstay of the country in times of difficulty, when all the others have failed.

XIX. *More o moxolo* : R.

Mmakxadi, Selumi (M) and Selumi (F) : N.

The chief of all the country,
See, how he starts with fear.
I see a hostile army coming
Of locusts or of armed men.

This throw predicts famine or war. The chief is taking measures to ward the danger off.

XX. *More o moxolo and Selumi (F)* : N.

Mmakxadi and Selumi (M) : S.

What is hidden, hidden 'neath your arm?
Come unfold it, wicked little leopard.
We have seen them, seen your colour-spots.

This may point to an understanding between the *Mmakxadi* and her husband's younger brother. Perhaps they intend to poison the two others, when according to Sotho custom the *Mmakxadi* will become the *Selumi's* wife. (Levirate).

XXI. *More o moxolo and Selumi (F)* : N.

Mmakxadi : S.

Selumi (M) : A.

A hidden wound a secret crime
A spear is cutting up my bowels,
The blood unseen is streaming round.
And if I fled as fast as fast can be,
My fate already has been sealed.

The bones foretell secret murder or poisoning. The BaSotho have a spear with needle point (*letsolu*), this is said to leave no external wound on the body of the victim. According to their belief it is also possible for a person to have been given some lethiferous poison and yet to be apparently well for some time. It seems that the *Selumi (M)* and the *Mmakxadi* are suspected of planning a crime of this nature.

XXII. *More o moxolo and Selumi* (F) : N.*Mmakxadi* : S.*Selumi* (M) : R.

Your turn has come, O leopard fierce !
 Your turn to be the prey, to feel the pain.
 You will be dragged to death to-day,
 As you have done to many others.

The guilty will suffer the punishment which is their due. It is not clear whether the *Selumi* (M) here stands for the avenger. It may be that the *Mmakxadi* has deserted him and that he has been brought to bay. (*Remile*).

XXIII. *More o moxolo and Selumi* (F) : S.*Mmakxadi and Selumi* (M) : N.

A shield a man and man a shield.
 The elephant is Mmirwa's shield.
 The shield once pierced, he too is pierced.

But thorns did prick the BaRolong ;
 The Birwa then did shout with joy.

Now cut a clumsy pair of shoes
 And give them to your brother,
 And you will see him slip and fall.

XXIV. *More o moxolo* : A*Selumi* (F) : S*Mmakxadi and Selumi* (M) : N.

The bones do speak of sorrows coming soon,
 Of sorrow that is mixed with joy,
 Some joy for you and some for others.

XXV. *More o moxolo* : R.*Selumi* (F) : S.*Mmakxadi and Selumi* (M) : N.

The bones do speak of sorrow coming soon.
 The gates are opened one and all
 To let the stream of presents in,
 But with them come the dogs of strife.

In this case the bones foretell great initial prosperity, but too much good fortune is bound to bring in its train envy and hatred of the less fortunate.

XXVI. *More o moxolo* and *Mmakxadi* : S.

Selumi (M) and *Selumi* (F) : N.

The great ones now rejoice,
The husband and his faithful wife.
Rest satisfied, dear heart,
What you did wish has been fulfilled.
And should I once be great and strong,
I will not feed on fellow men.
Let doctors be such parasites,
But we, O faithful wife,
Will grow by own resources.

This throw predicts prosperity for the chief's house. While doctors often become wealthy at the expense of others, the chief will not deprive his people of their belongings.

XXVII. *More o moxolo* and *Mmakxadi* : S.

Selumi (M) : S.

Selumi (F) : N.

A case as hard as Rula wood,
Which breaks both stick and stone,
The sticks of our fighting youngsters.

The man who works may not be hurt.
Let warriors fight their battles ;
No harm befalls a man at home.

You tend this tree and I the other,
You see there is a tree for each
And we can put a fence between.

You know your father is so rich,
His kraal is black with horns of cattle.
See now this many-coloured hornless ox,
More beautiful than all the pretty beetles.
Come pretty little goat, away from here !
The prince of cattle takes his seat.

This is apparently a warning to respect each other's rights, and more particularly those of the chief.

XXVIII. *More o moxolo* and *Mmakxadi* : S.

Selumi (M) : A.

Selumi (F) : N.

They play indeed with fire
Who try with pitfall and with snare
To make us doctors fall and stumble.
For even should I stumble.
Then fall I safely home.
You cannot take me unawares,
'Tis not with children you are dealing.

The bones warn people not to interfere with Native doctors, who are always more than a match for laymen.

XXIX. *More o moxolo* and *Selumi* (M) : S.

Mmakxadi and *Selumi* (F) : N.

Harm will come from distant countries.
Even should you stay at home,
Then will others come to see you,
With misfortune clinging to their feet.

The diviner warns the chief that travellers will bring contagious diseases into his country.

XXX. *More o moxolo* and *Selumi* (M) : R.

Mmakxadi and *Selumi* (F) : N.

T. Maledimo does not know the formula which has to be recited in connection with this throw. When the bones are in this position, it means that the *Mapono* (Swazi) are called out to battle. Both men are in fighting position (*remile*), while the women are weeping.

XXXI. *More o moxolo* : R.

Mmakxadi, *Selumi* (M) and *Selumi* (F) : N.

Away from mother's breast, my baby !
The time for *Koma* has now come.

You poor and helpless child !
Wherever has your mother gone.
The chief has called her to his town,
Where beer and meat is daily food.

When from a buffalo you flee,
 Then jump and climb into this tree.
 This tree is like an army too,
 An army that will fight for you.

According to this throw the time has come to initiate the young men. They are likened to babies who long for their mothers. While their sons are in the initiation lodge the women have to stay in the chief's town to cook food for them. The meaning of the latter part of the chant is obscure unless the band of novices is referred to as an army.

XXXII. *More o moxolo* and *Selumi* (M) : N.

Mmakxadi and *Selumi* (F) : S. (Pointing away from operator).

A band of women hoes the fields.
 Let women learn from porcupine !
 These beasts were here last night,
 And in our field they dropped a spine.
 We thought it must be elephants,
 So great had been their appetite.
 Come don't despair of work my friend,
 For all are born to work and labour.

The women are ready to go to their fields, while the men are resting at home. The women are told to be as eager in their work as the porcupine is eager to destroy.

XXXIII. *More o moxolo* and *Selumi* (M) : N.

Mmakxadi and *Selumi* (F) : S. (pointing towards the operator).

They turn the sods and hoe the land,
 The women break the fallow field,
 And then enjoy the well-deserved rest.
 With husbands' blankets on their neck-supports,
 They go to sleep in peace.

The position of the bones in this as in the previous throw is very favourable. They predict peaceful times : The women are working in the fields and their husbands remain at home. When the day's work has been done, husband and wife sleep together peacefully.

XXXIV. *More o moxolo* and *Mmakxadi* : N.

Selumi (M) and *Selumi* (F) : S.

- a. The hoof of zebra-ox is overturned,
By treachery of yon Moraka's men.
By witchcraft they attain their ends,
But now their plans have been discovered.
- b. Here the *Shexa*, *Kxaxa* men may swim,
Drift does now belong to them and river.
They have conquered by their crafty plans.
Says the river : " Kneel and drink my water,
Not a hippo, not a crocodile
In this water you will find."
In this river we can swim and play,
Now that we have driven them away.

According to the first version the treachery of the *Selumi* and his wife has been discovered and can be frustrated. According to the second version they will succeed, and the rightful owners will have to flee.

XXXV. *More o moxolo* and *Mmakxadi* : N.

Selumi (M) : A.

Selumi (F) : S.

They roast their meat and eat their fill,
Their bodies shine with liquid fat.
See how they rub their hands with glee.

The position is very much the same as in XXXIV. Apparently the *Selumi* and his wife are enjoying their success thoroughly, but their triumph may not be a lasting one.

XXXVI. *More o moxolo* and *Mmakxadi* : N.

Selumi (M) : R.

Selumi (F) : S.

Blood of handsome son-in-law is flowing,
Flowing somewhere on the veld

When the parents of your wife you visit,
Do not tarry, hurry back again !
Bridegrooms must not stay to work or play,
Or to tend the sheep and cattle.
All will think you're safe at home
With your bride or with your parents,
While your bones are bleaching somewhere on the veld.

XXXVII. *More o moxolo, Mmakxadi and Selumi* (F) : S.
Selumi (M) : A.

This matter is a doubtful one,
 I see a cow together with its calf.
 About the goat we don't agree.
 Some say : How thin and weak it looks,
 But others call it fat and strong.

An ambivalent throw ; it may mean either good or bad fortune.

XXXVIII. *More o moxolo, Mmakxadi and Selumi* (F) : S.
Selumi (M) : R.

This points to those who rob and covet.
 Beware you herdsmen of the cattle,
 These cows which you drive out to pasture,
 Remember that, do not belong to you,
 You may not even drink their milk.

In this instance the bones warn people against arrogance. After all we may enjoy our earthly possessions only as long as it pleases the gods.

XXXIX. *More o moxolo and Selumi* : A.
Mmakxadi and Selumi (F) : S.

The warriors called to arms !
 The call to battle we obey,
 You need not fear, they say,
 We lions tear the hostile army.

If the bones fall in this position the BaPedi warriors go to war confident of victory.

XL. *More o moxolo, Selumi* (M) and *Selumi* (F) : S.
Mmakxadi : N.

Noise approaches from the mountains,
 Noise like that of locust hunters.
 Do you hear the sounds of battle,
 See the dust of marching armies ?
 Soon there will be endless mourning !
 Do you hear the hammer ringing ?
 Should it ring and go on ringing,
 Then it sounds the death of princes,
 Death of chiefs in dust of battle.

XLI. *More o moxolo* and *Selumi* (F) : S.*Mmakxadi* : N.*Selumi* (M) : A.

Deceit and treachery I fear,
 I fear the tribe of crocodile.
 A traitor here in our midst,
 Who longs with strangers to conspire.
 My friend, he says, hold forth your tongue
 And let us lick the one the other,
 We witches all belong together.

Of future sorrows this does tell,
 Of witches planning to destroy.
 Yea, you will hold your chin in grief,
 And ponder deeply your misfortunes.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The following steps in the process of divination have already been dealt with :—

- a. The bones are thrown by the person who seeks their advice.
- b. The diviner praises his bones in general.
- c. He praises several bones in particular.
- d. He examines the four principal pieces and recites a formula which forms part and parcel of the particular throw.

The diviner now goes on to examine the accessory or totem-bones. He need not, of course, inspect every one of them. The bones that are taken into consideration will be different ones in each case, according to circumstances. The centre of interest is that bone which represents the person who has come to seek advice. This bone and those which have fallen near to it are examined carefully. The four principal pieces determine whether the omens in general are good or bad, but the bones surrounding the questioner's representative explain from what sources good or bad fortune has come or is to be expected.

When the diviner has ascertained the relative positions of these bones (*moropa*, *lešika*, *tibula*, *e a sepela*) as well as the directions in which they point, he will be able to make a coherent statement in answer to the questions that were put to him and to his bones.

While we are able to understand and follow all the steps in the process of divination up to this point, it does not by any means follow, that we will be able to see how the diviner arrives at his ultimate conclusions, for here several factors which are not under control come into play. These factors are the diviner's inside knowledge of tribal and family affairs, his ingenuity, the fertility of his imagination and last but not least his ability to read that which is in the minds of his audience.

BANTU STRINGED INSTRUMENTS



Photograph by W. P. Paff, Department of Music, University of the Witwatersrand.

Group 1, (a) Ex. 1.

„ (b) „ 3.

Group 2, (a) „ 9.

„ (b) „ 4.

„ (c) „ 6.

Group 3, (a) Ex. 8.

„ (b) „ 2.

„ (c) „ 5.

„ (d) „ 6.

THE RECOGNITION AND PRACTICAL USE OF THE HARMONICS OF STRETCHED STRINGS BY THE BANTU OF SOUTH AFRICA*

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A detailed study of the stringed musical instruments which are made and played by the Native peoples of the Union of South Africa and the countries adjacent to it yields some very interesting information regarding various influences which may have assisted in determining the musical scales and harmonic systems of those peoples.

Numerous references to some of these stringed instruments are to be found in the works of travellers, while ethnologists have from time to time described them in more or less general terms, and have even suggested methods of classification for them, as, for example, Balfour has done in his valuable "Natural History of the Musical Bow." But while acknowledging the useful work which has already been done in this direction, I would suggest that the real nature of most of these so-called "primitive" musical instruments has not hitherto been revealed, and an intensive study of their use has forced me to the conclusion that most of them are primitive only in form, but not in function.

Ten types of native stringed instruments are to be found in the Union of South Africa. One of these was manifestly originally an importation, although it has taken root among some of the Hottentots and the Coloured peoples of the Cape. This instrument is the *ramki*, an obvious derivative from some branch of the guitar family. I hope to deal with it fully elsewhere. In this paper, however, I propose to consider the nine remaining types, all of which are characteristic of our Native peoples, and I shall consider them from the purely musical point of view, leaving the ethnological aspect for future discussion. Further, I shall classify them, not according to relative simplicity of construction,

*This study deals with a portion of "A Survey of the Music and Musical Practices of the Native Peoples of Southern Africa," now being conducted by the writer under the auspices and with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Research Grant Board of the Union of South Africa,

but according to the relative complexity of the sounds produced. For although, to the superficial observer, these instruments are capable of emitting only one or two sounds, a close examination of them reveals the fact that in every instance not only are the fundamental tones of the string heard and recognised by the performer, but also the harmonic sounds generated by those fundamentals. These harmonics are either

- 1, sounded together as a chord,
- 2, isolated for melodic purposes, or
- 3, used in conjunction with their fundamentals in order to produce elementary polyphony.

In all cases a resonator is employed to amplify the sound produced by the string, and such resonator is sometimes the mouth of the performer and sometimes a calabash or other hollow object, which may, or may not, be permanently attached to the instrument. As Balfour has rightly pointed out, all these instruments are obviously derivatives from the bow of the hunter or warrior, and in his method of classification, the instruments are arranged according as they appear to be nearer to or further away from the original type.

I shall, however, now classify them according to the groups suggested above, and hope to indicate their true nature thereby.

THE INSTRUMENTS

Group 1. Stringed instruments in which the fundamental tone of the string together with its harmonics are recognised as a chord, and used accordingly.

- (a). Bow of solid wood, fitted with a string of wire or hair from a cow's tail, which is struck by a reed. A resonator of calabash is permanently fixed to the lower end of the bow.

This type is widely distributed and is probably of great antiquity. The Swazi, Zulu, Xosa and Basuto all use it, and appear to have done so for generations. It has various names, and, although generally large, it varies in size to some extent. But the principle underlying it in all its forms is always the same. The string is thin in proportion to its length, the bow being well curved. The calabash resonator, now sometimes replaced by a cylindrical tin of suitable size, is invariably fixed near the lower end of the bow, and it has a relatively small opening. It is insulated from the bow by a pad of bark, grass, coarse cloth or similar material. Stow has recorded the use of a tortoise-shell as a resonator (I possess an example of the next type with such a tortoise-shell). Brass wire is now

used for the string, although formerly a string made from twisted strands of hair from a cow's tail was common, and it is still occasionally met with. The pitch of the string can, of course, be varied by tightening or slackening it, and it is adjusted to suit the voice of the performer, as this is a typical instrument of accompaniment. The instrument is held upright, the opening of the resonator being close to the left breast, the second, third, and fourth fingers of the left hand grasping the lower end of the bow in such a manner as to leave the first finger and thumb free to pinch the string, and so raise its pitch. The string is struck near the lower end of the bow by a thin grass or reed held in the right hand, the grip being similar to that used by a side-drummer in holding his left hand drumstick. The action of striking is *staccato*, for good tone depends upon the reed quitting the string with the utmost rapidity. When so struck, the string gives forth its fundamental note, usually a deep sound, with great clarity, and one hears, in addition, several of the harmonics generated by that fundamental, even, at times, up to the eighth harmonic, the result being to the ear of the performer a clear chord. As the pinching of the string serves to raise its pitch a whole tone, the instrument yields two harmonic chords a tone apart, and the Native musician uses these chords as a definite basic accompaniment for his extemporised or memorised song. Further, I have observed, on one occasion, what appeared to be the real function of the practice, so often described, of the player's moving the calabash resonator to and from his chest, thus varying the tone. In this instance the pitch of the air column in the open calabash corresponded to the pitch of the string when pinched; when "shaded" by the performer's breast it corresponded to the pitch of the open string, and I noticed that the player brought the calabash to his chest only when striking the open string. This example, which was played by a Swazi musician, was as follows:—

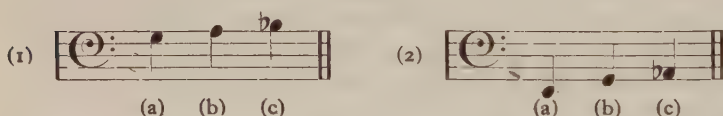


The fundamentals in this instance were rather more than a semitone apart. The note C was always struck with more force than the note B. This chord-sequence was used as a sort of *ostinato* over which the singer extemporised verses.

(b) Bow of solid wood, fitted with a string of wire, or hair from a cow's tail, tied back by a loop of wire or Native cord near the centre of the string, at which point a calabash resonator is secured by that loop. The string is struck by a reed.

This is another very widely distributed instrument, with various names. It varies in size like the instrument described in Group (a). The string again is thin in proportion to its length, and yields the harmonic chord readily. But since it is tied back at a point near the centre, it yields two such chords, according as one portion of the string is struck or the other. The division of the string varies among the different peoples, and also varies from time to time among the same people. I have heard, between the two fundamentals, the interval of a whole tone, a minor third, a major third, a fourth and a fifth. But in addition to sounding the two fundamentals, the performer may stop either half of the string by pressing a knuckle against the string near the point at which it is looped back to the bow (since it is at that point that the instrument is held). Thus one or two further fundamentals are obtained. Generally, only one portion of the string is stopped, three fundamentals, yielding three harmonic chords, being used. Examples of (1) Swazi and (2) Shangaan tuning, are as follows :—

Ex. 2.



- (a) Fundamental yielded by upper portion of string.
- (b) Fundamental yielded by lower portion of string.
- (c) Fundamental yielded by lower portion of string when stopped.

Group 2. Stringed instruments in which certain harmonics of the strings are isolated and used for the execution of melody.

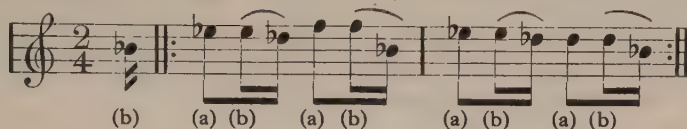
- (a) Bow of solid wood or hollow river reed, fitted with a string of sinew, to which is attached a quill as vibrator. The string is air-vibrated, and the mouth is used as a resonator.

Into this category comes the *gora* of the Hottentots, and its Bantu successors. From this instrument the player elicits various harmonics by inspiration and expiration, and these he combines melodically. Exceptionally he suggests a bass part with his voice as he expels the surplus breath from his lungs. I shall not go into detail here regarding this instrument as I have already done so fully in my paper "The *Gōra* and its Bantu Successors" (*Bantu Studies*, Vol. V., No. 2). I shall however, quote from that paper one example of a typical melody performed upon the instrument by a Bapedi Native :—

Ex. 3.

 $\bullet = 72$ (approx).

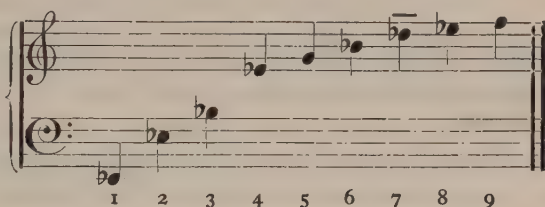
$C=517.3$ vibr. per. sec.



(a) Sounds produced by expiration. (b) Sounds produced by inspiration.

A glance at the following figure will show that the notes used in the above melody are the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth partials of an harmonic series, the fundamental of which is E flat.

Ex. 4.



It is interesting to note the definite use of an harmonic basis for a melody, and still more interesting to see in the particular notes selected and used a hint of a scale of a pentatonic nature.

(b) Bow of solid wood, fitted with a string of wire, (formerly in all probability of hair from a cow's tail, or sinew), which is struck by a reed. A milk-sack of dried skin or a thin-walled wooden vessel is used as a temporary resonator.

The only example of this type which I have hitherto come across is the *sekokwane* of the Bechuana. This I described generally in "The Mystery of the Grand Gom-gom," a paper read at the annual meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science in Grahamstown, July 1931. It consists of a curved bow of solid wood, fitted with a string of sinew or wire. The player seats himself upon the ground and passes his right foot between the string and the bow, the string being uppermost. The upper end of the bow rests against his left shoulder, while the lower end is placed upon a hollow wooden vessel or skin milk-sack, which acts as a resonator. The player strikes the string with a thin wand or reed held in his right hand, at a point about an inch or two from the lower end of the bow, or alternatively he plucks the string with the third finger of the left hand. With the thumb and third finger of the left hand he touches various "nodes" of the string, thus

producing harmonics similar to those of the *gora*, although much less powerful, while with his chin he at times presses upon the upper part of the string, thus altering its fundamental tone. He is thus in a position to utilise the harmonics from more than one fundamental, and in practice he actually employs *two* of the latter, their pitches being a whole tone apart. The following example is characteristic.

Ex. 5.

(a) Notes sounded by striking the string with a reed.
(b) Notes sounded by plucking the string with the third finger of the left hand.

Differences of quality, as well as of accent, are produced by the variation in the method used for producing the sound. The tones produced are the fundamentals G and A with certain of their harmonics.

Ex. 6.

1 2 3 4 1 2 3

It must be pointed out, however, that when the fundamental is struck or played, the player is conscious of the harmonic chord, which really qualifies the instrument for inclusion in the previous group also. Moreover, since the mouth is not used as a resonator, the performer uses the instrument as an accompaniment to his voice, and it therefore profoundly influences the scale used in his song.

(c) Hollow bar or tube of wood or bamboo, fitted with a wire string and tuning peg. The string is set in vibration by means of a miniature bow of wood and hair from a cow's tail, resin being applied to the hair. The mouth was originally used as a resonator, but recently a one gallon paraffin tin has been applied to the instrument.

This type is found in many parts of the Union. The Bechuana, Bavenda, Bapedi, Basuto, Zulu and Xosa all use it, although its form varies slightly in different districts. It is also found further north.

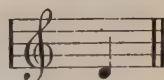
Undoubtedly the mouth-resonated type is the earliest, and it may still be heard among the Bavenda, who call it *tsijolo*. The other races almost all use a paraffin-tin resonator, holding the instrument on the left shoulder. But in both methods the aim is the same. The player sets the string in vibration by rubbing the resined bow on it with a kind of circular motion, counter-clockwise. The hair of the bow is tensioned directly by either drawing it tight by means of the fingers, which are placed in a loop of the hair, in those cases in which the stick is straight; or by pressing the hair nearer to the bow with the thumb, in those cases in which the bow is curved. But whichever method is used, the variation in tensioning is deliberate, and, together with the choice of spot on which the string is bowed, serves to isolate certain harmonics of the string. The player also alters the pitch of the fundamental at will, by pressing the string upwards at the appropriate point with the ball of the thumb or the knuckle of a finger of the left hand. The two fundamentals thus sounded are usually a whole tone apart. The fundamentals, however, are not generally used in performance; certain of their harmonics are utilised for the playing of a melody, as in the following Bapedi example:—

8va.....

Ex. 7.

(a) (a) (b) (b) (a) (b) (b) (b) (a)

(a) Harmonics produced from open string tuned to D.



(b) Harmonics produced from fingered string tuned to E.



In the next example, from Bechuanaland, three fundamentals are employed:—

8va.....

Ex. 8.

(b) (b) (b) (b) (b) (b) (b) (a) (c)

(a) Harmonics produced from open string tuned to C.



- (b) Harmonics produced from fingered string tuned to D.



- (c) Harmonics produced from fingered string tuned to E.



In the case of those peoples who attach a resonator to this instrument, it is frequently used as an accompaniment to the performer's voice.

Group 3. Stringed instruments in which certain harmonics of the string are resonated and used for the execution of melody, while at the same time the fundamentals which generate them are used for the execution of a "bass" part.

- (a) Bow of hollow river-reed, fitted with a string of sinew or fibre. The string is plucked by the finger, and the mouth is used as resonator.

This instrument, which is found all over the Union of South Africa, is often confused with the *gora*, with which it has no connection whatever save that both acknowledge a common ancestor, the bow of the hunter.* It consists of a piece of reed from eighteen inches to two feet in length, fitted with a string of sinew. The pitch of the string may be raised by tightening it and lowered by slackening it. The instrument is generally held to the left of the performer, who, taking it in the hands, pushes one end into the right corner of the mouth, the tip resting upon the junction of the upper and lower lips, and pushing them somewhat out of place towards the right. The string is towards the front, and the staff is kept clear of the teeth. The left hand holds the instrument firmly in position, the hand being held palm uppermost, with the forefinger engaging the hollow tip of the reed, and the thumb being laid along it. The string is fingered with the backs of the second, third and fourth fingers of the left hand. Three sounds are generally produced from the string by such fingering, the right forefinger plucking the string in a downward and upward direction as required by the music. But these three sounds do not represent all that is heard or intended to be heard by the performer. The mouth is used to resonate certain harmonics of the three sounds produced by the string; and it is this fainter series of sounds that constitutes the real melody played upon the instrument. The fundamentals provide a second (lower) part. The tuning of the string,

*See A. Werner's note in *Bantu Studies*, Vol V; p. 257.

achieved by tightening it, would appear to be regulated by the fact that certain partials only of the three fundamentals have to be resonated by the mouth.

The music played upon this instrument is in two definite "parts," and I shall quote several examples of music characteristic of it, since from these, and from the music of some of the instruments which follow, it is possible to deduce some of the principles underlying Bantu harmony, or, at least, Bantu instrumental harmony. These tunes were played by a Bavenda girl upon the *lugube*, the Bavenda form of the instrument.

Ex. 9.

(Fingering) 4 2 0 4 2 4 0 0 4 2

Ex. 10.

(Fingering) 0 4 0 0 4 2 0 4 2 2 2 2 0 4

Ex. 11.

(Fingering) 4 4 4 4 2 0 4 4 2 2 0 4 4 2 2 1 0 4 4 2 2

0 4 4 2 2 0 0 4 4 2 0 0 4 4 4 4 4

- a) Harmonic sounds reinforced by mouth resonance.
- (b) Fundamental sounds, either open string or fingered
 □ plucked downwards √ plucked upwards.

(The result of this method of plucking is that notes plucked □ are louder, or more accented, than sounds plucked √).

The following are the three fundamentals employed, with the harmonics used :

Ex. 12.

(a) Harmonics, showing number in series.

(b) Fundamentals, showing fingering.

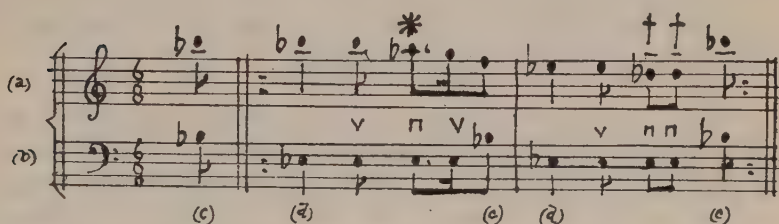
As the performer's mouth is employed in resonating harmonics of the string, he cannot sing while playing, but occasionally a second performer will sing the melody of the resonated sounds, with or without words.

(b) Bow of special construction, being either of solid wood thinned towards the tips, or with a wooden central portion into the ends of which the thin tips are fitted. The string is of wire, looped back with sinew or thread near the centre, and plucked with the finger or with a plectrum of thorn or other substance. The mouth acts as a resonator.

This instrument is also widespread. The string is nowadays always of brass wire although formerly twisted sinew and even giraffe hair was used. Since the string is tied back on to the bow, the two portions yield different notes, the relative pitch of which can be varied by moving the loop which ties the string back, along the bow, exactly as in the instrument described in Group 1 (b). The interval selected varies in different places and for different melodies. The mouth, which acts as a resonator, selects particular harmonics from either fundamental, which,

however, is also audible. The result, as in the case of the preceding instrument, is two-part harmony, or rather polyphony. The following example was played upon the *tshigwana*, the Bavenda form of the instrument.

Ex. 13.



(a) Harmonics resonated by the mouth.

(b) Fundamentals.

(c) Right portion of string plucked by first finger and thumb of right hand.

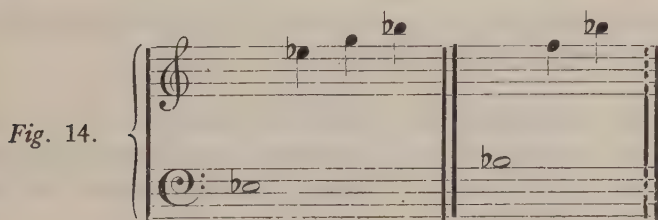
(d) Left portion of string plucked by first finger and thumb of right hand.

□ Left portion of string plucked downwards by first finger of left hand.

√ Left portion of string plucked upwards by first finger of left hand.

Note : At * the first finger and thumb of the right hand grip the right portion of the string at about two inches from the binding loop, and the A flat is apparently "forced" up from G. At † the D flat also appears to be "forced."

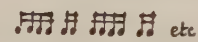
The fundamentals and harmonics used in this instance are :

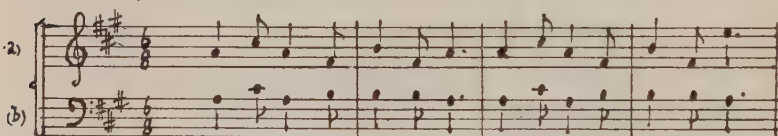


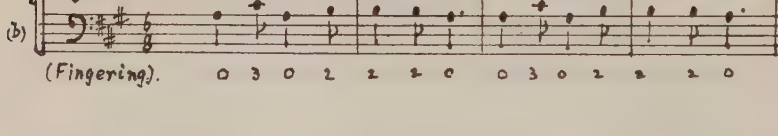
(c) Short bow of solid wood, thinned towards the ends, which are bent up sharply. The central portion of the bow is notched along one side. From tip to tip of the bow a flat "string" of palm leaf or broad grass is tightly stretched. The instrument is sounded by rubbing the stick which forms the handle of a rattle, made of a dry seed-box containing small stones, across the notches, thus causing the string to vibrate. The mouth is used as a resonator, and selects and amplifies certain harmonics from the fundamentals of the open string and two fingered notes.

This instrument is found only among (a) Qung Bushmen, (b) Bavenda, and (c) Shangaans of the Pietersburg district. As in the case of the two preceding types, the music is in two parts, though in this instance the *higher* part is the stronger by far. The following is a tune played upon the Shangaan form of the instrument which is called the *xampie*.


Ex. 15.

Movement of Rattle:  etc.

(2) 

(b) 

(Fingering). 0 3 0 2 2 2 0 0 3 0 2 2 2 0



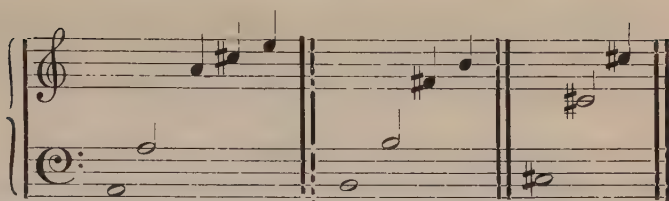
0 3 2 0 2 2 3 0 0 3 2 0 2 2 3 0

(a) Powerful resonated harmonics.

(b) Weak sounds, octave above the fundamentals. (The fundamentals themselves are not audible.

The rattle-stick moves across the notches, beginning from right to left on the first note, in even semiquaver movement, accented in such a way as to bring out the various sounds clearly. The fundamentals, and the harmonics used are as follows.

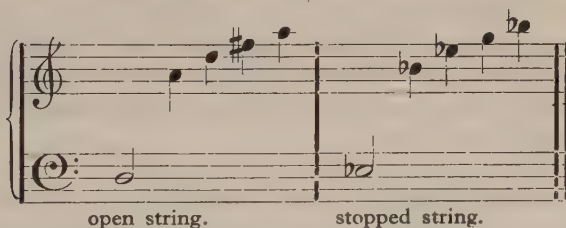
Ex. 16.



(d) Length of hollow river reed, or hollow piece of *umsenge* wood, into one end of which a thin, pliable rod is placed. A string of vegetable fibre or twisted rush is fixed to the lower end of the reed, and to the tip of the thin rod, which is thereby made to curve. The string, after being rubbed with the juice of a leaf, is "bowed" by a piece of thin mealie stalk held *beneath* it. The mouth acts as a resonator, and the string is stopped by the first finger of the left hand.

I have found this type only among the Xosa, Pondo, Zulu and Swazi. The three former tribes call it *umrube*, while the Swazi now style it *utiyane* or *ipiano* (sic). As in the previous cases, the pitch of the fundamental is altered by stopping, while the mouth resonates selected harmonics. One Zulu performer whom I heard sounded the following fundamentals, selecting his harmonics from those shown.

Ex. 17.



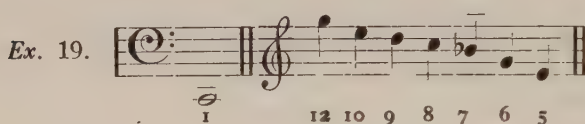
The music played upon this instrument is similar to that played upon the three previous types. One tune was as follows:



- (a) Harmonics resonated by the mouth and throat. These are relatively weak in sound.
- (b) Fundamentals sounded strongly by the mealie-stalk "bow."

*PROBABLE INFLUENCES OF THE USE OF HARMONICS
UPON THE SCALES AND HARMONIC AND POLYPHONIC
PRACTICES OF THE BANTU PEOPLES*

In discussing the *gora*, I suggested that there was a hint of a pentatonic scale in the harmonic sounds used for melodic purposes. I have heard performers on this instrument sound harmonics up to the twelfth partial, but in every instance they omitted the eleventh. The "scale" produced by such a series, assuming that C is the fundamental, is as follows :

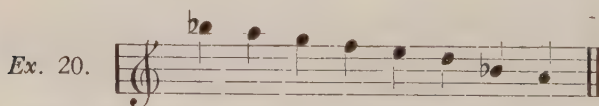


The note shown as B flat is, of course, rather lower in pitch than as indicated by the notation.

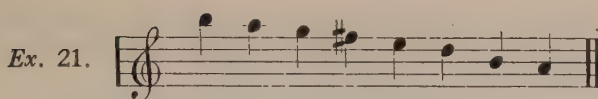
At the present moment I am not prepared to make any definite statement regarding the possibility of musical scales having been derived from the combination of harmonics generated by *two* fundamentals, such as are employed in the instruments described in Group 1 (a) and (b), Group 2 (b) and (c), and Group 3 ; I would however suggest that there is every likelihood that such combination must have affected musical scales to a greater or less extent.

But a close examination of the sounds used in the two-part music played upon the instruments in Group 3, undoubtedly reveals some very significant information. As all exhibit the same phenomena, I shall take the first as typical.

The resonated sounds, if placed in descending order, constitute the following scale.



the note G apparently functioning as a "tonic." At times, however, the player would finger the B flat as B natural throughout the complete performance of a tune : in such a case the scale suggested was—



the note G functioning as a " tonic " as before.

But whichever scale was employed, the relation of the harmonics to the fundamentals was the same ; and what is much more important *the " progression " of the two " parts " was controlled in both cases by the same principles.*

From a complete tabular analysis of the progressions employed in the tunes, the following principles which appear to have governed the movement of the parts have been deduced. For the sake of simplicity, the lower part has been regarded as being transposed an octave higher.

1. Perfect concords only are normally used, (the tune in Ex. 18 shows an exceptional use of the third), these being
 - (a) unison
 - (b) octave
 - (c) fifth
2. If a note of the lower part is repeated, the upper part may
 - (a) consist likewise of repeated notes
 - (b) may move from a fifth to an octave, and possibly
 - (c) proceed from an octave to a fifth (though there is no example of this).
3. If a note of the lower part rises to the note above, the upper part may
 - (a) proceed in octaves with the lower part
 - (b) proceed in fifths with the lower part
 - (c) proceed from the fifth to the unison.
4. If a note of the lower part falls to the note below, the upper part may
 - (a) proceed in unison with the lower part
 - (b) proceed from the unison to the octave
 - (c) proceed in fifths with the lower part.
5. If a note of the lower part rises to the third above, the upper part may
 - (a) proceed from the octave to the fifth
 - (b) proceed from the fifth to the unison
 - (c) proceed from the fifth to the octave.

6. If a note of the lower part falls to the third below, the upper part may
- (a) proceed from the unison to the fifth
 - (b) proceed in fifths with the lower part, and possibly
 - (c) proceed from the unison to the octave (though there is no example of this)

It will be readily seen that, although the interval of the third is used melodically, both in the upper and lower parts, *it is not primarily used harmonically*. This analysis would appear to indicate the existence of a definite polyphonic scheme controlled by physical laws, and it is interesting to see how closely it has been followed in much elementary Bantu vocal music.

Further, the principles of part progression, together with the intervals employed, would seem to be analogous with the similar principles which governed the "new organum," as the polyphonic music of the twelfth century was called. In particular, the principles laid down in the marginal notes of the medieval treatise catalogued as *fonds S. Victor*, 813, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris, quoted in the Oxford History of Music, Vol. 1, page 87, appear to present an almost perfect analogy, except that the anonymous writer had discarded the parallel octaves and fifths, which were characteristic of the "old organum," but which are still features of Bantu music.*

Since the principles of part progression which I have deduced from Bantu instrumental practice are completely dependent upon physical laws, may not the same physical laws have controlled those of the medieval contrapuntists in the early days of their art?

*See also my paper "Some Problems of Primitive Harmony and Polyphony, with Special Reference to Bantu Practice," *South African Journal of Science*, Vol. xxiii, pp. 951-70, Johannesburg, 1926.

CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF THE IXAM BUSHMEN

From material collected by

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Edited by D. F. BLEEK

Part II. THE LION

The following story dictated by *Dtā!kwain*, a Bushman from the Katkop hills, was related to him by his sister */a:kum* when he was still a boy.

*!hũ!hũ: kaŋ ||nau ŋ ||kaxai
/a: kum, o haŋ |hiŋ !kau-|nũnu,⁽¹⁾
!hũ!hũ:wā ||nau, haŋ sa: o
kammaŋ, o !hũ!hũ: ||k'oen ti e:,
||kōiŋ ta, ||kōiŋ se |e:, !hũ!hũ:
!karrokən-i: ha, !hũ!hũ: ka, ha:
|kā|kā i ha.*

*Haŋ kaŋ |k'e:, "||kōiŋ ||nau !hũ-
!hũ: !kwē: i k"o, ā |ki ||a: ā:,
||kōiŋjaŋ k"auki dī: ||k'e:, ta:
||kōiŋ |ka o: se |e:. He !hũ!hũ:
||k'oen, ti e: ||kōiŋ -||kwaŋ |ne
|e:, he !hũ!hũ: xu:wa, i:, o !nau-
tukən."*

*He ha ||nau, !hũ!hũ: ká ha xu:-
wa, haŋ k"auki hā: tym-⊙pwa |ne
!hymmi, he ha hā: |ne kukú: i, haŋ
≠i:, "Mama kaŋ ka siŋ ka: ≠ka-
ka ke, !hũ!hũ: hā: ||nau, ||k'e:
a:, ha |ne ≠en-na, ti e:, ||khe||khe:
|ne !hiŋja, haŋ |ne xu: i."*

*He ha hō: |ne kukú: i, haŋ ≠i:
"ŋ kaŋ se |ki ||ka, ti e: a; ŋ se*

An owl did as follows to my elder sister */a:kum* as she was leaving Kenhart,⁽¹⁾ when she was half way the owl saw that the sun was about to set and snatched at her, it tried to catch her.

She said, "The sun behaves as if the owl were doing this, making it set, for the sun does not keep time, but is just setting. And the owl sees that the sun is setting and leaves at dusk."

And when the owl started to leave her, she was not a little frightened and considered and thought, "Mother used to tell me that the owl acted like this when it knew that a beast of prey was near, it left us."

And she considered and thought, "I will light a fire here, I will

||ke: ||wēi, η se-g ||nau, |ija ||ka
||na, η se _ta: i. Ts²a a: |hū!hū:
siŋ di: ja ha _saŋ ká ha ≠i:; η-η
a: ||ke: s²o: o |ija |kə a: ||ka ||na;
η se !kú: iten, o ha |xuəri _||gauē
|ki η, o-g |i!”

Hē η ||kaxai _hā: ||nau, haŋ
_tai, xu: tu |i; haŋ |auwi _||khā, o
_||khāŋ ||khə ||kau so: ||xau. Hē
ha _ha: ku_ku: i, haŋ ≠i:; “Hē: tī,
hē _||kwaŋ e:; η siŋ |k’e: hē, o ti
e! |hū!hū: |kə _!karrokən-i η, o ha
||k’oen, tī e:; ||kō-ŋ |ne |e:; haŋ
|kə _!karrokən-i η. Hē tikən
_||kwaŋ e:; ts²a gwai á a, ha
_||kwaŋ |ne a:; !kā: ||kau s²o: o-g
η.”

Hē η ||kaxai _hā: ||aŋ !xī: ja o
ha, o haŋ s²o: . Hē _||khā: _hā:
sa: |i, i:; hē _||khā: _saŋ !ko: ha,
o |i. Hē _||khā: |kā-i: ha !nwa,
i:; hē _||khā: !yht-tiŋ hē, i: . Hē
ha _hā: ||nau, haŋ ||a:; haŋ tú: i
_||khā:; o _||khā: η k’wa: _||gauē
|ki ha.

Hē ha -hā: kukütən ≠i:; “Tī
taŋ k’auki ≠ka: kə:; η se !ka: gən
!kūi: tən; ta: _||khā: kə ha _saŋ
||nau, kə: !kār’a, η ||a:; _||khā: η
_saŋ !xaitji ||e η. Ta: tī |kə kə
≠khāi; η se !ka: gən ||kaitən !kau,
η se ||a |ūŋ ||kau-siŋ !kau |nā:-
tsi.”

Hē ha _||kwaŋ _hā: |ne !ka: gən
||kaitən !kau, i: . Hē ha |ūn !kau,
i:; !kau |nā:-tsi, i: . Hē ha |ka:-
si taŋ ha ɔpwoiŋ; hē ha !ko:; i:; hē
ha tú: i _||khā: tu: tu: e:; ha
!khou-ā _||gauē |ki ha !nwa, i: .

make a big fire, so that when the
fire is burning I can go. The
thing for which the owl was acting
so will think I am sitting warming
myself at the fire; I will go home
while it is stalking me at the fire.”

And as my sister was going to
walk away from the fire, she
caught sight of a lion sitting up on
the Brinkkop. And she con-
sidered and thought, “I should
have suspected this, when the owl
was snatching at me, when it saw
that the sun was setting. It must
have been because of this great
creature that was lying up there
in wait for me.”

And my sister went evading
him as he sat there. And the lion
came to the fire and missed her at
the fire. And the lion found her
footprints and followed them.
And as she went along she heard
the lion roaring as it sought her.

And she thought, “The place
is not open enough for me to go
home in the dusk, for if I still
walked on the lion would follow
me. But the place is steep (?), I
will climb onto a rock in the dusk,
I will go to lie down up on the
ridge of rock.

And she climbed up onto the
rock in the dusk, and she lay
down on the ridge of rock. And
she lay waiting, she slept; then
she awoke, and she heard the lion’s
calls with which he was seeking
her footprints.

Hε ha _hā: kúí, "Hε tí, hε _||kwaŋ e:, η síŋ |k'e: hε, tí e:, _||khā: ká ha se |ká-ā η |nwa."

Hε _||khā: ||aŋ ||nuŋ ||a ha o !kau, í: Hε _||khā: _hā: kúí, "||a:kum-we, a xa de?" Hε η ||kaxai _hā: kukuütən ≠í:, "!kwi taŋ k"auki _dóā a:, !kwi: ||gauē η; ta: _||khā: _dóā e. Haŋ ||nau, tí e:, ha ka ḡ síŋ ≠í:, tí e:, !kwi a !kwi: η, η se ||e ha,. Hε tikən e:, ha !kwi: kúí !xwāŋ !kwi í: Ta: mámagu ka síŋ ka, hε ≠kaka ke, _||khā: _hā: ka !kwi: kúí !xwān !kwi, o há ka í: se wé ta. Hε tikən e:, há !kwi: kúí !xwāŋ !kwi, í:, o háŋ ka, i se |k'e:ja ha ā:, tí e:, i ||nā he. Hε tikən e:, ha !kwi: kúí !xwāŋ !kwi, í:."

η ||kaxaitən _hā: kukuütən ≠í:, "A kaŋ _||kwaŋ |ka se !kwi ||na-||ná, tí |ke: a, ta: a !xwā; kaŋ ≠í, η k"auki ≠en-na, tí e:, á ka η |k'e:ja ha ā:, tí e:, η ||na hε."

Hε _||khā: _hā: kúí, "||a:kum we, a _ká: ||na tí dé, o tí e:, a !nwa |ka ||gwi-síŋ tí é? A xa |kam ||a tí dé, hε-g η k"auki |nī: a² |k'e:ja ki ā:, tí e:, a s²o ||nā hε. Ta: η _||kwaŋ |ka ≠í:, tí e:, a _||kwaŋ |ka s²o ||na tí e; ta: a s²o _dóā ||kaitən !kau. _Dóā |ki !ke !hóā η. Ts²a di xa a:, a akke η !kwi: _||gauē |ki|kí a, o tí e:, η _||kwaŋ ≠í:, tí e:, a _||kwaŋ |ka s²o ||na tí é:?"

Hε η ||kaxai _hā: kukuütən ≠í:, "!kwi taŋ k"auki _dóā a: !kwi: |ki η; ta: _||khā: |ka s²o _dóā e. η

And she said, "This, I suspect, must mean that the lion is trying to follow my footprints."

And the lion traced her scent to the rock. And he said, "O ||a:kum where are you?" And my sister considered and thought, "It cannot be a person who is calling seeking me, it must be the lion. He is doing this because he wants me to think that a person is calling me, and go to him. That is why he is calling like a man. The old women have often told me, that a lion will call sounding like a man, when he wants us to answer. Then he calls sounding like a man, for he wants us to tell him where we are. That is why he calls sounding like a man."

My sister considered and thought, "You may go on calling there at a distance, for you seem to think, that I don't know, you want me to tell you where I am."

And the lion said, "O ||a:kum, where can you be for your footprints vanish here? Where have you gone, that I do not see you? Tell me where you are sitting, for I thought you were sitting here, you must have climbed up the rocks. Do pull me up. Why do you let me call seeking you, when I am sure you are sitting there?"

And my sister thought, "It cannot be a man who is calling me, but it seems to be the lion. I

*k''auki se |k'e:ja ha ã:, ta:, ha
||nau, ti e:, há ka η |k'e:ja ha ã:,
ti e:, η ||nã he."*

*He η ||kaxai _hã: kukuütən ≠i:,
mama ka siη ≠kaka ha ã:, _||khã:
_hã: ka !kan ||khóẽ tẽ ha !khwi, o
ha tu, ha !kwi: _||gauẽ i, o ha
|khwiã: ||khóẽ ta: ha tu, o ha ka,
ha: siη !xwãη !kwi, i k''auki siη
túi ti e:, ha e _||khã:. He tikən e:,
ha ||khóẽ tẽ ha !khwi o ha tu, i:*

will not answer him, for he is doing this in order to make me tell him where I am."

Then my sister remembered that mother had told her that a lion will put his tail into his mouth and call seeking us with his tail in his mouth, when he wants to sound like a man, so that we do not hear that he is a lion. That is why he puts his tail into his mouth.

Dictated by *Díá!kwam.*

*Mama-gukən kaη ≠kaka si ã:,
ti e: !hũ!hũ: e ts²a a: ka ||nau,
ha: ≠enna, ti e:, _||khã: se !ku:-
itən-t, !hũ!hũ: sa k''wa: !gwesiη i;
ha-g ||nau, ha: k''wa: swe:nja, ha
||xau ú, ha sa _!karrokən t-ta ||neiη-
ka ||xou||xou, o há: ka _||khã: se
sá, |kã-ã |hiη i, o ©pwoin.*

Our parents used to tell us that the owl is a thing which acts like this when it knows that the lion is returning to us, it comes to scream opposite to us; when it has sat screaming, it flies up, it comes snatching at the bushes of the hut for it thinks the lion will come and catch us asleep.

*He tikən e:, mama-gu kaη ≠ka-
ka si ã:, si _kóõ se !hammi kwókwãη,
o !hũ!hũ:wã: _!karroka |ki ||a: o
si, o ||kõrη |etən|etən, si _kóõ ≠enna,
ti e: _||khã: a: !hũ!hu: da: si ã:
ha, ha |kwẽ:ĩ k''o ã:.*

Therefore our parents used to say that we had reason to be afraid, if an owl snatched at us in passing at sunset, we should remember that it is a lion which causes the owl to behave like this.

*He tikən e:, mama-gu kaη ≠ka-
ka si ã:, si _kóõ se ||nau, si:
||k''oen, ti e: !hũ!hũ: |kwẽ:ĩ k''o,
haη di:, si _kóõ k''auki se |ũ:ηsiη,
ti e:, !hũ!hũ: siη |kwẽ:ĩ k''o, haη
dĩ si i:, o ti e:, si stη ka, si |ũ:η he;
si _kóõ se ||nau, si kt siη ≠i:, ti e:,
st ka si |ũ:η he: ti, si _kóõ se ||nau,*

Therefore our parents used to tell us, that if we saw an owl acting like this, we must not lie down at the place where the owl had behaved thus to us, the place at which we had meant to sleep; although we had planned to lie there, yet if the owl came to us as

!hũ!hũ:wa !ke sa sl, o si di akən
 |ki ti e:, si ka si |ũ:ŋ he, si kóš se
 ||nau, si ||k'o'en ti e:, !hũ!hũ:
 |kwě.ĩ |kwāŋ di: o si, si kóš se hɔ:
 si-ka tswen, si se tai xu: tu ti e:,
 !hũ!hũ: siŋ !ke sa si-si, i:; si se ||a
 |ũ:ŋ ti e:|xarra, o si k''auki |ũ:ŋ siŋ
 ti e:, !hũ!hũ: siŋ !ke sa si i:.

Ta: si ké: se ||nau, si |kwi|kwitən
 ā: !hũ!hũ:, si kóš |ne |ũ:ŋ ti e:,
 !hũ!hũ: siŋ |kwě.ĩ |kwā: ha: di si,
 i:, _||khā:ŋ á: ká ha se !ke se si,
 ha kóš sa |kā-ā |hiŋ si o ɔpwoiŋ.

Hɛ tikən e: mama:gu kɪ:se si o
 _||hóē, hé ko !hũ!hũ:, ta: mama-gu
 |ki ≠kaka si ā:, ti e: _||hóē he ko
 !hũ!hũ:, tswen e: da: hi _||khā: he
 é. _||hóē a: |hóāka haŋ a: mama-
 gu ≠kaka si ā:, si siŋ !hammi ||wĩ:
 ha. Ha kaŋ ka 'wā:, wā:', ha
 ||ke: a:, ha da hi _||khā: ā:, haŋ
 a: ha ka 'wā:, wā:' ā:, o ha ||xau
 ||kau ho ||a: i: ha |kwě.ĩ da, ha-g
 |ne !ahí siŋ ||e i, o ha: ||xau !kai
 |hiŋ ||a: i. Hɛ ha-g |ne ||nau, ha:
 ||k'o'en, ti e: i tai ||xĩ: i o ha, ha
 kóš ||xā:, ha ||xau ú, o ha ka 'wā:',
 ha kóš ||nau ha: k''wa:, ha |kóš
 !e!éttən ā: ||kũ:||kũ, o ha: _||xā: ha
 ||xau ||kau ho ||a: i.

Hɛ tikən e:, i-g ||nau, i: ||k'o'en
 ti e:, he |kwě.ĩ k''okən di: o i, itən
 k''auki ||nēi ||nēi ti e:, he siŋ
 |kwě.ĩ|kwě, he di i, i:, ta: i tai xu:
 ti e:, he siŋ |kwě.ĩ|kwě, he dt: i, i:,
 i se ||a ||na||na ti e |xarra, he !hu-
 !hu: k''auki siŋ |kwě.ĩ|kwě ha di,
 i, i:.

Mama-gu, hiŋ kaŋ |k'e:ja si ā:,
 si se ||nau, si: ||a ũ:, ti e: |xarra,

we were preparing the place for sleeping, when we saw it going on like this, we should take up our things and leave the spot at which the owl had come to us; we should go and lie down at a different place, not at the place to which the owl had come.

For if we paid no heed to the owl and slept where it had come to us in this way, the lion would come to us and seize us while we were asleep.

That is what our parents taught us about the crow and the owl, for they said that the crow and the owl are things which warn us of the lion. The black crow is the one which our parents told us to fear very much. It calls "*wa, wa,*" when it warns us of the lion, it says "*wa, wa*" as it flies over us; it goes to sit in front of us, when it has flown right over us. And if it sees that we walk past it, it will fly up again as it cries "*wa,*" and while it cries it flaps its wings and again flies over us.

Therefore when we see them behaving like this to us, we do not stay at the place at which they acted in this way to us, but go away, leaving the spot where they went on like this, and going to stay at another place, at which the owl had not acted towards us like this.

Our parents used to tell us that when we went to sleep at a dif-

si *₊kšš* k''auki se *ā*:, |i se *thu*:, si
sīŋ |ki ta: o |i |kw²āi, si se ||*nau*,
 si: *ᵒᵖwoinja*, si se ||k'oen ti e: |i
thu:, si se *hō*: |i |u, si se ||*gum* |e:
ha o |i, si *sīŋ* |ki ta: o |i *₊kw²āi*, o
 si ≠i:, ti e: !hū!hu: *sīŋ* sa: si, o
 ||kōŋjaŋ |khe:.

He: ||khe||khe: a: !hū!hū: *sīŋ*
dīja, ha se ||*nau*, ha ≠i:, ti e: ha
ká: ha sa |kāā |hīŋ si o *ᵒᵖwoinja*, ha
 se |khou |i *₊kw²āi*, ha se ≠i:, ti e:
 !kwi *₊ōā* |ka |naunko !k²auwa. |i
₊kw²āin |ka e:, ||khe||khe: ≠i:,
 ti e: !kwi !k²auwa; !kwitən |ka
ᵒᵖwoin ||na, |i *₊kw²āin* |ka e: *taŋ*
 !kwi ||ke: s²o.

He *tikən* e:, mama-gu ≠kaka si
ā:, o |i i:, o *hīŋ* ta: ||ka ti e:, ||khe-
 khe: e: ts²a a: k''auki ká ha se sé
 ||neīŋ a: ha |khou |i *₊kw²āi* ā:, ta:
 ha !hammi:, ha sé ti e:, ha |khou |i
₊kw²āi, i:. Ta ha ||xam ≠i:, ti e
 !kwi *saŋ* |nī ha, o ha: |xwerri sa o
 !kwi; o ha ≠i:, ti e: !kwi *ᵒᵖwoinja*,
 !kwi *₊ōā* |kū !k²auwa, !kwi *₊kšš*
₊ōā |ne |xā ha, o ha ≠i: ti e: !kwi
ᵒᵖwoinja.

He *tikən* e:, mama-gu ≠kaka si,
 i:, o ti e: ||khe||khe: k''auki ká ha
 se |ku sé ti e: |i *₊kw²āi* ||aŋ, i:, ta
 ha !hammi: he, ha |ka se: he; haŋ
 k''auki ka ha se sé, ti e: |i *₊kw²āi*
 |aŋ, i:.

ferent place, we must not let the fire go out, we must lie down in the scent of the fire, so that while we were sleeping we should notice if the fire died down, then we should take a log and thrust it into the fire; we must lie down in the scent of the fire remembering how the owl had come to us while the sun was high.

Then when the beast of prey of which the owl had warned us thinks that it is going to catch us asleep, it will smell the scent of the fire and will believe that a person must still be awake. The fire's smell will make it think that someone is awake, the man will be sleeping there, but the scent of the fire will make it seem as if he were sitting keeping it up.

That is what our parents used to tell us about fire, saying that a beast of prey is a thing which will not come to a hut at which it smells the fire's scent, for it is afraid to come when it smells the fire's scent. For it also thinks the man would see it, if it came stealing up to him thinking he was asleep, if he were awake, then he would shoot it while it thought that he was asleep.

That is what our parents told us, that a beast of prey will not come up to a place at which there is a smell of fire, for it is afraid to come to it; it does not like coming to a place where there is a smell of fire.

|xam-ka !k²etən āŋ !naŋŋa-se
-||khā: o hiŋ ta:; ||ka ti e:; !hau-
kən! haukən tum-ī, ti e:; he |kwē.ī-da
o -||khā:; ī:.

!haukən!haukakən ||aŋ ||xou |e:
-||khā: !nuntu, ī: He !haukən-
!haukən ≠kaka -||khā:; ī, ti e:;
!k²e |kwē.ī-da o ha, ī:.

He -||khā: |ka-g ||nau, o ha:
o pwoin ta:; haŋ |ka !k''abbe |hiŋ;
tija kə: |ka k''waŋ !kwi a: |k'e:
|hiŋ ha o o pwoin.

He tikən e:; si e: !kaukən, si
k''auki ka !kw²i: -||khā: |kē; ta:
si |ka !hammi si !kw²i: -||khā: |kē;
ta: mama-gu |ki e: kaŋ ≠kaka si
ā:, !haukən!haukən ka ≠kaka
-||khā: ā:; o !khwā: o pwa: !kw²i:
-||khā: |kē; -||khā: |ne !k''wāin
ti e: !kaukən !xwā: ke: ||gwiŋən o
ha |kē.

He tikən e:; -||khā: ||nau !hau-
kən!haukən ≠kaka ha ā:, ha |ka
te:n |ki |e: ||kō.īŋ, o ti e: !haukən-
!haukən siŋ ||aŋ ≠kaka ha ā, ī:.
Ha |ka ||nau ||kō.īŋ |e:ja, ha |ka
!ka:gən ||neir a:; !kaukən o pwoŋni
e:; siŋ !kw²i:ja ha |kē, ha ||neir
a:; !kaukən ||nā ha, o !k²etən |ka
o pwoir ||na; o haŋ ka: ha se ||a
!no:ā: !no:ā !k²e, !k²e se ≠enn, ti
e:; ha a: e ||khe:|khe:; ha |kv a:
!kaukən ||gwiŋən ||na o ha |kē.

He tikən e:; mama-gu k''auki
≠kauwa si: !kw²i: -||khā: |kē, ta
mama-gu kaŋ |k'e:ja si ā:, si se
||nau, si tā: -||khā: !nwa, si se
||nau, si ka si se |k'e:ja he ā:, si |ka
se kukū, si !kun si |k'a:; o si: ka si

Bushmen avoid the name of the lion, because they think that the flies are listening to what they are saying of it.

The flies fly away into the lion's ear. And the flies tell the lion what people have been saying about it.

And as the lion lies asleep, it starts up; it seems as if a man were calling it out of its sleep.

Therefore we children do not mention the lion's name; for we are afraid of doing so; for our parents have told us that the flies tell the lion, if a child says its name; the lion is angry because the children seem to be playing with his name.

Therefore when the lion is told of this by the flies, he lets the sun set where the flies have come to talk with him. When the sun has gone down, he goes in the dark to the hut where the little boys who have mentioned his name are living, while the people are asleep there; for he wants to frighten them, that they may know that he is a beast of prey, with whose name the children made free.

Therefore our parents did not want us to say the lion's name, but used to tell us that if we caught sight of a lion's footprints when we wanted to tell them about it, we should hold our hand like

≠kaka he ā:, ti e: si siŋ /nā: _||khā: !nwa.

this⁽²⁾ to let them know that we had seen a lion's footprint.

Ta: he _||kwaŋ ké: se ≠enn, ti e: si |kwē-ī-da he ā:, ī:, o st: ki sá: |ne:ja hi ā:, si |k'a:; ta: he _||kwaŋ siŋ ≠enna ts'a a:, si ≠kaka he ā: ha, há si tā: ha !nwa.

For they would know what we meant to tell them when we came merely showing them our hand; for they would have recognized the thing, about which we were telling them, that we had seen its spoor.

Ta: _||khā: ká: ha se ||nau, si e: !kaukən, st: tā: ha !nwa; o st: sa: mama-gu, si _kóā |ne kuku, si |k'e:-ja he ā:, si kaŋ siŋ tā: _||khā: !nwa, _||khā:ŋ ká ha se se, |kā-ā si !nwa, e: si siŋ ≠kerre |ki ha !nwa, ī:, ha _ko:ā |ne !gaukən |ki !ke se si !nwa o ||neiŋ, he ha-g |ne _saŋ |kāā |hiŋ si o ©pwoin, o si: |e:ta: ©pwoin.

For a lion acts like this when we children see his footprints; if we go and tell our parents that we have seen them, then the lion picks up our footprints where we had found his, and follows them up to our home in order to catch us asleep, as we lie in slumber.

He tikən e:, mama-gu kaŋ |k'e:ja si ā:, si _kó:ō ||nau, si |nā: _||khā: !nwa, si _kó:ō k''auki se !khe: tiŋ, si se |k'e:ja si |ka:gən ā:, o _||khā: !nwa, si se |ka ||nau _tai a:, si siŋ _tai ||a: ā:, si se |kv ||nau si: |nā: _||khā: !nwa, si se |kv ī: !kwe!kwe !khe tē o si |ka:gən, o sija |ka tauko _tai, o si k''auki !khe, si se !khe tau |au _||khā: !nwa.

Therefore our parents told us that if we saw a lion's footprints, we should not stop to tell each other about the lion's spoor, we should walk on as we had been walking when we caught sight of the spoor, we should merely look at each other as we walked on without stopping to stand and look at the spoor.

Ta: si |ka ī: ≠kaka si |ka:gən o si tsaxáitən, ti e: _||khā: _||kwaŋ |khóā a: siŋ _tai |kijā ||a:, ti e: . Si tsaxáitəkən |ka e:, si |kwē-ī-da, sitən ≠kaka si |kagən ī:, o sitən k''auki kú:ī, '|kaŋ ||k'wā:, _||khā: kaŋ ||kho: siŋ |kāā ||a: ti e.'

For we should merely tell each other with our eyes that it was a lion which had walked along there. Our eyes should be our means of speaking to each other, we should not say, "Look my friend, a lion seems to have passed here."

Mama-gu kon kaŋ |k'e:, si _kó:ō k''auki se |kwē-ī ku, ta: _||khā: e tsa a: k''wāŋ ha tú:ī, ha e. !gauxe a:, i k''auki |nī: ha ā:, haŋ |ka

Our parents used to say, we must not speak thus, for the lion is a thing which seems to hear. Although we do not see him, he

≠enna, ti e:, i siŋ |kwē:ĩ-da, o ha, ĩ:; haŋ |kə tú:ĩ, ta: !haukən!haukən |ki a: ≠kaka ha ā:, ti e: i siŋ |kwē:ĩ-da, o ha, ĩ:, itən ≠kakən o ha, ĩ:.

Mama-gukən kaŋ ≠kakən, ti e: ts²a a: |kə ||nau, haŋ əpwoin ta: haŋ |kə ||khabbo-ĩ:, ti e: !k²e siŋ tã: ha !nwa, !k²etən siŋ !kw²i: k²'e:nk²'e:n |ki ha |kē. Haŋ ka ||nau, o ha ||khabbo-ā:, haŋ ka |kə !hom ha-ka ||khabbo.

Mama-gukən kaŋ |k²e:ja si ā:, si-g |nō k²'au ||k'o'en, ti e: _||khā: ka |kwēĩ |kwĩ-|kwé, ĩ:, o ha: |kha: əpwai, ha ka ||khe||khe: !kwi; haŋ k²'auki tá ha se ||nau, ha: |kha: əpwai, haŋ k²'auki ká ha se hā: tē ha o ti |ke:, ha |kha tã: ts²a ĩ:.

Ta: ha ká: ha se _||gwaĩ ||khe-||khe: !kwi, ha kó:š thum ts²a-ka |khara, thum ||kho he, o ti |ke:, ha |kha tã: ts²a ĩ:. Ha kó:š _|kammain ts²a, o ha k²'auki hā ts²a. Ti e: ha |ki ||a: ts²a o əho, ĩ:, hiŋ e: ha-g |ne hĩ: ts²a, ĩ:. Han k²'auki ká ha se hā: tē ts²a o ≠ka:, ta: ha ká: ha se hā: |ki|ki ts²a o əho !kerri, ha: ha _|kammain |ki |e:ja ts²a ā:, haŋ a:, ha ká ha se hā: bai ts²a ā:, o ts²a a |kə ||na əho.

He tikən e:, mama-gu kaŋ ≠kaka si ā:, si kó:š se ||nau, sí: |nã: ts²a a: _||khā: |kha ha, sí: ka si |ã ts'a, si kó:š "auki _|kammain ts'a-ka ku:, si kó:š se kwe:ja _||khā: ā:, ts²a-g |nã:, he kó ts'a !xā, t²fweŋ e: !ku:, he |ke, hiŋ e:, si kwe:ja _||khā: ā he, o ts²a |khara, ha se sa |nĩ he, o ts²a |khara.

knows what we have been saying about him, he hears, for the flies tell him what we have been saying about him, when we speak of him.

Our parents used to say that he is a thing which dreams when he lies asleep that people have seen his footprints, people have made free with his name. Whenever he dreams, he believes his dream.

Our parents used to ask us if we did not see how a lion behaves when he kills game, he acts like a man; he will not eat the game he has killed at the place where he has killed it.

For he is used to open it like a man, so that he may bury the contents of the stomach where he has killed the thing. He will carry off the thing without eating it. When he has taken it to a bush then he eats it. He will not eat it in the open, for he wants to go on eating it under the large bush to which he has carried it, that is where he means to eat it up, under the bush.

Then our parents used to tell us, that if we see anything the lion has killed and want to cut it up, we must not carry the whole thing away, we must leave its head for the lion and the upper backbone (?), these two things we must leave for him at the spot, so that he sees them where he left the thing.

O si !he: |ki _taija ha, si _kó:ä
 |ne |ã ts²a, o ka: k''auki ||n.a, si se-g
 |ne |ã bai ts²a. Mama-gukən kaŋ
 |k'e:, si _kó:ö k''auki se -|kamme:ŋ
 ts²a-ka eŋ-ka ku:, si se xu:wa
 _||khā: ā: hā:, o ts²a |khara, si se
 ||xou he, o ʘho:kən e: si siŋ |ã:
 ||kau tā: ʘpwai, i:, ha se sa |nī he.
 Ta: há e ts²a á: ka !gauökən i, o í
 xa xu:wa ha ā: hā: kuitən.

Mama-gukən kaŋ |k'e:, _||khā: e
 ts²a a: ká ha se ||nau, ts²a !xāka
 !kwa kí sa: e, haŋ ká ha se se, ts²a
 |khara, ha se sá k''āöuŋ he, ha
 _kó:ö |kə ||nau, ha k''āöuŋ baija he,
 haŋ |kə se _tai, _||gauē ts²a a: |xara,
 há ha ká ha |kha ha. Ti e:, ha
 ||k'o'en, ti e: í |kə _|komme:ŋjā ts²a-
 ka eŋ-ka ku:, hiŋ e:, ha ≠i:, ti e:,
 i _kóā k''auki ≠i:, ti e: ha ||xam
 ||kaŋ-a. Ta: i k''auki |ne ||khóā
 ≠i:, ti e:, ha _||kwaŋ a: |kha: ts²a,
 ta, i |kə-g |ne _|kamme: ||nts²-ka
 eŋka ku:||gwai.

Mama-gukən kaŋ |k'e:, _||khā:
 ka ||nau, o há sa !ko: hā:, o ts'a
 |khara, háŋ ka-g |ne _!kwāin, he ha
 |ne kuku:ī, ha ≠i, 'ne ≠kam-ʘpwa
 u; o u _||kwaŋ ||khóā _|kamme:ŋja
 ke hā:-ka ku:, ŋ káy siŋ |ne ||nau,
 u |kwē:ī |kwāŋ dī: ŋ, ŋ kaŋ se |kāā
 u !nwa, ŋ se ||a |kāā |hiŋ u-ka !ku-
 ko:, o ʘpwoin, ŋ se hā: ha. Ta: u
 _||kwaŋ k''auki ||khóā ≠i:, ti e: ŋ
 _||kwaŋ ||xam ||kaŋ-a.'

He tikən e:, mama-gu kaŋ ≠kaka
 si ā:, si _kó:ö k''auki se _|kamme:ŋ

When we have driven him a-
 way, we must cut up the thing in
 his absence and finish cutting it up.
 Our parents used to say that we
 must not carry off all the meat,
 we must leave food for the lion at
 the place of the kill, we must cover
 it with the bushes on which we
 have laid the meat we cut, so that
 he finds it. For he is a thing
 which will follow us, if we do not
 leave him something to eat.

Our parents used to say, the lion
 is a thing which acts like this,
 even if only the bone is left, he
 keeps coming to the place of the
 kill to crunch it, and when he has
 finished crunching it, he will go
 away and look for something else
 to kill. If he sees that we have
 carried off all the meat of the
 thing, then he thinks that we have
 not remembered that he is also
 hungry. For we do not seem to
 have considered that it was he
 who killed the thing, for we have
 carried off every bit of the meat.

Our parents used to say that if
 the lion did not find food at the
 place of the kill, he would be angry
 and would say to himself, "Just
 you wait a bit; because you seem
 to have carried off all my food, I
 will do as you have done to me, I
 will follow your footprints, I will
 go and seize one of your men in
 his sleep and eat him. For you
 don't seem to have remembered
 that I too am hungry."

Therefore our parents used to
 tell us that we must not carry off

ts²a a: _||khā: |kha ha, ha-ka eŋ-ka ku:, si se |ku:wa _||khā: ā:, eŋ kuitən, o ts²a |khara, ha se sá |nī he, o há sa: . Ta, ha |ki e ts²a a: ka ||nau, i !he: |ki _taija ha, haŋ ka ||a ||na||na he: ti, o ha !kā: ||kōvŋjā: se |e:ja ha ā:, ha se ||a ||k'oen a ||ga:, ||k'oen, tī e: i |nō k''au |ku:wa ha ā: hā: .

He tikən e:, mama:gu ≠kaka si ā: si k''auki se _||kamme:ŋ ts²a-ka eŋ-ka ku:, ta: _||khā: ká ha se !gauōkən si, o si _||kamme:ŋja ts²a-ka eŋ-ka . u: gwai.

Mama-gu kaŋ kl:se si, si se ||nau, ||k'e: kō:, o si: tã: _||khā: !nwa, si se ||nau, sť: ka, si se ≠kaka he ā:, si se kukú, si !kw?i: _||khā: |kē kō:, si se ku 'kukən' ā: |kē, o si ≠kaka he ā:, ti e: si sŋ tã: 'kukən' !nwa o ti é: a, he |hiŋ ti é: a, hiŋ kókóā a, |kam ||a: ti e.

Ti é: máma-gu e: |kwē:ĩ-da: si ī:, o hiŋ ta: ||ka ti e:, si e |kaukən, si k''auki |kə ka ' _||khā:'. Ta si k''auki e !ke!kerritən, si sŋ |kə !kw?i: _||khā: |kē. Ta: _||khā: ká: ha se !ho ki: si, si se |ne _tai !kauxu, he _||khā: |ne |nī: si, ī:, _||khā: |ne ||xou ≠ka:, o há: ka, si se-g |ne |nī ha, ha á:, si é !kaukən sť ka !kw?i: k''e:nk''e:n o ha |kē; ha tuko |ne á:, ||xou ≠ka: si ā:, si se-g |ne ||k'oen ha, ti e:, ha tuko _dóā á: a, ha si é: !kaukən, sť ka ||gwitən||gwitən-ĩ: o ha |kē.

all the meat of anything the lion has killed, we must leave some for the lion at the place of the kill, for him to find when he comes. For he acts like this when we have driven him away, he goes to another place and waits till sunset to go in the dark and look whether we have left him something to eat.⁽⁸⁾

Therefore our parents told us not to carry off all the thing's meat, for the lion would follow our spoor if we carried off the whole of the meat.

Our parents used to teach us that on another occasion when we had seen the lion's spoor and wanted to tell them about it, we might mention his other name, we might say "hair" for his name telling them that we had seen "hair's" spoor at such a place, coming thence in this direction.

That is what our parents said to us, for they wanted us children not to say "lion." For we were not grown-up, so that we might mention the lion's name. For the lion would wait until we were big enough to go to the hunting ground, then he would see us there, he would become visible, because he wanted us to see him, with whose name we children had been making free; he would really appear to us, so that we might see him, that it was really he with whose name we children had been playing.

*He tikən /ne e:, ha-g /ne ká ha,
/ki !khe /ho si, si se ||k'oen ha, ti e:,
ha-g /nū e ||gwiṭən-ka ts²a, si se-g
/nū ha, si se ||k'oen ha, ti e:, ha
/nū ||kho ||gwiṭən-ka ts²a.*

*He tikən e:, mama-gukən /k'e-ja
si ā:, _||khā: e ts²a d: ||nau, i e
!khwā: ɔpwa, itən !kw²i: k"e:n-
k"e:n-ā: /kē, !haukən!haukakən ||aŋ
≠kaka ha ā:, he _||khā: kukú:ī,
haŋ /k'e:, 'ne ≠kam ɔpwa, he taŋ
_||kwaŋ se kiki:tji, he se /ne tai
!kauxu, he _||kwaŋ e:, ŋ kaŋ se
/ne /nū he, ī:, o he /ne kiki:tji: ta:
he k"auki !naunko _tai !kauxu: ta:
he /ka ||na ||neiŋ; hiŋ _||kwaŋ ke:
se kiki:tji, he se-g /ne _tai !kauxu.'*

That is why he wanted to stand in front of us, that we might look whether he were a plaything, that we might see him and look if he resembled a plaything.

Therefore our parents told us that if we being little make a mock of the lion's name, the flies go and tell him about it, and the lion says, "Wait a bit, when they are grown they will go to the hunting ground and I shall see them, when they have grown; for they don't go there yet, they stay at home; they will soon grow up and go to the hunting ground."

*Mama kaŋ kaŋ /k'e:, ti e:, _||hhā:
||nau, ||k'e: a:, ha ká ha hā: i,
haŋ ||nau, ||k²ōŋ ká-saŋ !xo:wa,
haŋ /ka di: ||k²ōŋ o ha-ka didi:,
||k²ōŋjaŋ /ka |e:, kúī k"wā /kwa-
/kwainja, o há ka ha hā: i.*

Mother used to tell us what a lion does when he wants to come up to us, although the sun is still high he influences the sun by his doings, the sun sets quickly, because he wants to come to us.

*He tikən e:, mama ka siŋ ka:
≠kaka si ā:, si se ||nau, si /kwen-
ja !khwa:, a: ||na ||khwetən, si se
||k'oen -!kaba a: si /kwenja ha, si
se ||nau, ha: txérija, si se _||k'auwa
há-ka ti e: txérija, ha _kšš ||nau, o
si ||hiŋja ha-ka ti e:, siŋ /kuruwa,
ha _kšš -||xā: ha /kuru tí e: /xara,
mama-gukən kaŋ ≠kaka si ā:, ti e:
_||khā: ā: tsi: /ku/kuru -!kaba, o
haŋ ka, ha se !k²ai !ke se si, o
!khwa:, o si k"u /ki -!kaba.*

Then mother used to tell us that if we were fetching water from a distance, we should watch the waterbag in which we were fetching it, if it tore we should mend the place which was torn, but if when we had tied up the place which was torn, it should tear again in another place, then our mothers said that it was a lion biting and tearing the waterbag, because he wanted to overtake us at the water, while we were mending the waterbag.

He tikən e:, mama ka sin ka: ≠kaka si ā:, o _||khā:-ka didt:, hiŋ e: mama ≠kaka si ā he, o tikəntikən e: _||khā: dt:he, o ||k'e: a:, ha ká ha |kha i ā:, haŋ a:, ha |kwēi k'o ā:.

Mamaŋ kaŋ |k'e:ja si ā:, si se ||nau, si: ||k'oen, ti e:, -!kaba k''auki k''waŋ, si ||kwaŋ ||hiŋja, si _kšō se ||nau, -!kaba ki-sa: ≠nai, si _kšō se _tai xu: tu !khwa:, si se ||a !hau, si _||k'auwa, o si _am _tai |hiŋ tu !khwa:. O !gauxe a: si -||ka ā:, si _kšō _am tai, o si k''auki ≠i:, ti e:, !khwa: kwāŋ ||ka:-||ka: si, si _kšō k''auki |kwēi-da si ≠i:, si se tai, o !khwa: ki-sa: ||ka:-||ka: si.

Ta: !khwa:-ka -||ka k''auki se !kha si. Ta: ||khe||khe: a tsi |ku-|kuruwa si ā: -!kaba, ha a: ká ha se |kha si; !khwa:gən kauki se |kha si.

Mama kaŋ |k'e:ja si ā:, !haukən-!haukən |kə ≠kaka _||khā: ā:, o ha: |kə ||na he: ti. Haŋ |kə di klü k''wāŋk''wāŋ ha tóā ts'a, o he: ti, o !haukən!haukakən |kə a: ≠kaka ha ā:, ti e:, !kui ká ha se !xu !khwa:, o ||kʔōiŋ ta t é.

He tikən e:, mamogu ka siŋ ka, he: ≠kaka si ā:, ti e:, _||khā: e ts'a a:, ha ká ha se ||nau, ha: ká ha |kha i, haŋ da: hi ā:, tikəntikən e: i k''auki ≠enna he, o haŋ ka, ha se |nī i, o i: dt |ki hé: ti.

That is what mother used to tell us about the lion's doings, that is what she said about them, about the things which the lion does when he wants to kill us, then he acts in this way.

Mother used to say to us that if we saw that it did not seem possible to mend the waterbag, although the waterbag kicked, we should go away from the water, we should mend it later, when we had walked away from the water. Although thirst consumed us, we must first walk away and not think about our longing for water, we must not think about it at all, but go on, however thirsty we were.

For the thirst for water would not kill us. But the beast of prey who was biting holes in the waterbag would kill us; the water would not kill us.

Mother used to tell us that the flies tell a lion about what happens there. He acts as if he had heard things here, because the flies have told him about it, that a person is going to the water to-day.

So our mothers used to tell us that the lion is a thing which acts like this when he wants to kill us, he makes things happen which we do not understand, because he wants to catch us while we are working here.

Dictated by /haŋ≠kass²o, a Bushman from the Strontbergen.

ŋ !kōiŋ Tsatsi ||kwaŋ ka siŋ
≠kakən, ti e: !hũ!hũ ka sé i, au
_||khā se sí i, au ha /hiŋ sa _||khā
!kha:, au _||khā se sé.

He tiken e:, ŋ !kōiŋ ta siŋ !gab-
betən-ā !hũ!hũ au /i, au !hũ!hũwa
sá !küi, ha !gabbetən-ā !hũ!hũ au
/i, au hiŋ tati hĩ ta !hũ!hũ se ||e,
!hũ!hũ se ||a ≠kaka _||khā, ti e:
!k²e /ka /kaŋ-i ha. Au ti e: ŋ
!kōiŋ siŋ /kuēiða, i:.

Haŋ ||xámki ija au !houkən!hou-
kən. Haŋ ≠kaka si, ti e: !khwā
opwa k"auki ta kü, "hmm, hmm,
k"a,"⁽⁴⁾ au !houkən!houka !kauŋ
siŋja ha /nũnu; ta !houkən!houkən
/ké ta ||a ≠kaka _||khā ti e: !khwā
opwa /ka !k"ó-e _||khā, hiŋ e:,
!khwā opwa k"ak"añ-i _||khā
/k'wāi.⁽⁵⁾

He tikən e:, _||khā ha ka /ne ku,
"Há xa te: u?" !houkən!houka ha
/ne küi, "!khwā kaŋ /ka e." He
_||khā ha /ne küi, "Ha xa -kija?"
!houkən!houka ha /ne küi, "Ha káŋ
/ka -!humma." He _||khā na /ne
küi," /ne /ka ha, ha se -ki."

He tikən e:, i ta /ka /ne ||nau, i
/ne e -!kerri, i /ka-g /ne tai ||kai-
tən _||khā, au _||khā ta: He tikən
e:, i tú ka /ka-g /ne /hóáka au
!hammi, au taitən, !kauākən. I
túwa k"auki /ne k"wi: au taitən.

My grandfather Tsatsi used to
say that an owl usually comes to
us when a lion is coming to us,
for it comes out in front of the
lion, when the lion is coming.

Therefore my grandfather used
to throw fire at the owl, if it came
at twilight, he threw fire at it,
because they (he and the other
old men) wanted the owl to go and
tell the lion that people had
thrown fire at it. This is what
grandfather told us.

He also spoke about the flies.
He told us that a little child
should not exclaim, "hmm, hmm,
ka,"⁽⁴⁾ if a fly sat in front of his
nostril; for the fly always went
and told the lion, that a little child
had been insulting the lion, that
is to say it had been complaining
of the lion's bad smell.⁽⁵⁾

Then the lion exclaimed "How
big is he?" The fly said: "He
is a child." And the lion said,
"Is he big?" The fly said,
"He is little." Then the lion
said, "Leave him alone, he will
grow big."

Therefore it happens when we
are grown-up, we come unex-
pectedly upon a lion which is
lying down. Then our mouth is
black with fear, with terror, with
alarm. Our mouth is not light
on account of our terror,

Au -||khā: |kə ˌnaunko sa:;
 -||khā: |nā |hu/hunta |kə |hiŋ se
 !xwe; hī |kə-g |ne ||khóá hāhā, hī
 |kə-g |ne ||khóá -||khā: kwokwáŋ.
 Ha |nā: |hu/hunta, au hī daudau i.

When the lion is still coming, his head's reflection comes in sight before him; it resembles him, it looks like a real lion. His head's reflection (it is) with which he deceives us.

Ī e !kaukən, itən k''auki ta -||khā
 ā: au ||ga:; tǎ i |kə ka 'kerre-/e:'
 ā. Itən ||xamki ta 'ts'ǎ a: |na:
 -|hokən e,'⁽⁶⁾ au itən tati ha |ke -ta:ī
 au ||ga:, au há siŋ |kə ɔpuoin ta:;
 au ||k'ǒŋja !khe:.

We who are children do not say "lion" to it at night; but we call it "lighting in." We also say "thing whose head's darkness it is,"⁽⁶⁾ for we feel that it walks at night after lying asleep while the sun was up.

!kaukən ||kwaŋ |kə ka |kerre-/e:
 ā:, au ||kǒŋ !khe:. Hiŋ ||nau au
 ||ga:, hiŋ ||xamki |kə ka 'kerre-/e:'
 ā:; au hiŋ tati e, ha |ke ˌha ka ka,
 |kwi|kwǒja a:; !kaukən ɔpwonnija
 !kwi ha |kē ā; au há-ka |kwi|kwǒ:.

Children call it "lighting in" when the sun is up. When it is night they also say "lighting in" to it, because it (the lion) might think it an insult, if little boys called it by name as if insulting it.

He tikən e:, !kauka: ka -||khā ā:
 He tikən e:, i ta |kə kǐ, kǐ, kǐ kǐ, i
 |kə di -!kerri; au i k''auki |ne |nī
 ha. He tikən e:, i t |kə-g |ne au
 i |ne e -!kerri, i |kə-g |ne ˌtai |kai-
 tən ha. He tikən e:, ha ka |kə |ne
 ||kwǒetən i, ha |kə-g |ne |kwǒi |kǐ, ha
 !nóē ˌsa au i.

It may happen that children say lion to it. Then we grow, grow, grow, grow, we become grown-up without seeing it. Then, when we are grown-up, we come right upon it. Then it attacks us, it does thus, it comes to fight with us.

Haŋ ka di -!kwi, ˌa -||kautē ha
 !khwī ā: |na:, au ha ||khouka |kwi:;
 au |kwi:ja hā |kǐ wai.

It (the lion) often turns into a person (male or female), it puts its tail over its head when it goes to vultures eating a springbok.

Ha ||ne !k'attən kǔi k''waŋ !kwi,
 au ha !k'atta |kwi:, au ha tati ha
 ||khóá -!kwi kwokwaŋ.

It trots (along) like a man, as it trots up to the vultures, for it feels like a real man,

ŋ !kōŋ Tsatsi |kɑ d: kɑ siŋ
 |kwē:ī da, tī e: _||gwatən hɑ kɑ
 !xuonni |e: ha au _||khǎ. Hŋ
 _||gwatən⁽⁷⁾ e:, i siŋ |kha: tīŋ, ī:;⁽⁸⁾
 au ||k²ōŋ-jǎ !khe, hé _||gwatən hī
 |kɑ-g |ne !xuonni |e: hī au _||khǎ,
 au ||k²ōŋ-jǎ kɑ: |e:, tī |ne dī: ||ga:.

Hī |kɑ |ne sɑ: |xai hō i, au ī
 -ōpwoin ta:, au hī |kɑ !xuonni |eja
 hī au _||khǎ. He hī |kɑ-g |ne sɑ:
 !xai hō i, au ī -ōpwoin tɑ:, au ī tati
 e:, ī k''auki dōǎ |ni: _||khǎ !nwa.

He tikən e:, i |kɑ |ne -ōpwoin
 ||na, au ī k''auki |ne ||khau-ī; i |kɑ
 |ne -ōpwoin ||na. He tikən e:,
 _||khǎ |kɑ |ne sɑ: !xai hō i, au ī |kɑ
 |ne -ōpwoinja, au ī tati, ī k''auki
 dōǎ |ni _||kha, ī siŋ |ne ||khau-ī.

Tati ī k''auki -ōpwoin au _||khǎ;
 tɑ |nuk''o kɑ |kɑ kǎǎŋ-kǎǎŋ ūī, ha
 |kɑ |kī|kī ||kī: |ī, he hɑ |ne tēŋ, au
 |ij-g |ne ||kɑ s²o. He ha |ne ||xǎ,
 ha kǎǎŋ ūī, ha |ne _||ko-etən !hō
 ʘho-|u, au hɑ kɑ, hī siŋ kó-itən.
 He tikən e:, ha kɑ-g |ne -ōpwoin
 ta:, au ||k²ōŋ-jǎ !khe.

My grandfather *Tsatsi* used to tell me, that a wild cat will turn itself into a lion. Those cats which we killed when the sun was high, turn themselves into lions when the sun sets and it grows dark.

They come to drag us away as we lie sleeping, when they have turned themselves into lions. Then they come to drag us away as we lie sleeping, because we have not seen a lion's spoor.

That is why we are sleeping there and do not lie listening; we are fast asleep there. Then the lion comes to drag us away while we are asleep, because we had not seen a lion, to make us lie listening.

For we do not sleep for a lion; but an old man keeps getting up, he makes a fire, then he lies down when the fire is burning. Then he gets up again and pushes a tree stump into the embers, because he wants it to smoke. Then he will lie and sleep when the sun is high.

_||khǎŋ |ne |ahérri |e ha au ts²a
 kɑ:; ha dī !kw²a:, dī ku ||kho
 !kw²a:, au ha kɑ, ī se !ahattən ha.
 He hɑ |kɑ-g |ne ||nau, au ī: |ne
 |xwerrija ha, au ī |kɑ-g |ne !ga,
 !ahita: ha, hɑ |kɑ-g |ne ||nau, hɑ
 |ne |khe sa ī, ha |kɑ-g |ne dī _||khǎ:.

The lion turns itself into some thing else; it becomes a hartebeest, becomes like a hartebeest, because it wants us to head it. And when we hunt it, when we lie in front of it, then as it comes up to us, it turns into a lion.

He *tikən e*; !*kauākən ka* |*kā-g*
|*ne* |*khi*: *i*, *i*; *au t* |*kā-g* |*ne* ||*k'oen*
tī e; _||*khā*: |*kā-g* |*ne d*:; _*tai* !*khe*
sa i; *he t* *k''auki* |*ne* -|*ki*, *tī e*: *t se*
|*ne* |*kwē*:*i* |*ki*, *i*:; *au itən tatti*, *ha*
|*ke k''auki k''wā* ≠*hannūwa*, *au ha*
|*na*: *i*, *ta ha kə* |*kā* |*kha i*.

Then terror nearly kills us,
when we see that it is a lion that is
walking up to us, while we have
nothing with which we can do
anything; for we know that it
will not act nicely if it sees us, it
will kill us.

(1)!*kau*-|*nūnu* *kaŋ óā* ||*nau*, ||*k'e*:
a -||*khā*: -*óā* |*kwē*:*i* |*kwā*:*ŋ dī ŋ*
||*kaxai ā*:; |*hū*:-*ka* ||*nei*||*nei k''auki*
-*óā* !*naunko* ||*na* !*kau*-|*nunu*. *Ta*
|*xam-ka* !*k²e* |*kā e*: -*óā* ||*an-i*:
!*kau*-|*nunu*.

(1)As to Kenhart, at the time
when the lion acted like this to-
wards my sister, the White men's
houses were not yet there. But
Bushmen were living at Kenhart.

(2)The narrator here held up his right hand with all fingers and the thumb extended like a claw.

(3)Sometimes a lion who is a rogue appears to go away, but comes stealing back when the people are cutting up the meat, in which case he kills them. So the narrator's mother said that they must cut up the meat quickly and leave the place where he had killed the game.

(4)Shutting the mouth tight and forcibly expelling the breath through the nostrils.

(5)The fly was a lion's fly. They came from the lion. The fly in question had sat under the lion's armpit.

(6)*Hin* |*né ta*, *hahá-ka* _!*k²an e*.

(6)They say that (the darkness) is
its shadow.

(7)_||*gwatən a*: !*kwai*, *i k''auki* |*ni*:
_||*khā ā*:.

(7)We do not see a lion on account
of one cat.

(8)!*kwini*!*kwini* _||*kwai* |*kā é*: |*khi*:
||*gwa*||*gwara*, *au hin tati e*:; *hī*
|*kā e*: !*khou*!*khou hó hi*.

(8)Dogs are those which kill cats,
because they track them by scent
and rouse them,

RELIGIOUS OR SACRED PLANTS OF BASUTOLAND

By REV. F. LAYDEVANT

The history of the various religions is connected with many other sciences. In order to have a thorough knowledge of the religious ideas of a nation, it is often necessary to consult the geography, the history, the ethnology and even the botany of that nation's country. It is indeed surprising to note how plants have played a considerable part in the religious and magical customs of primitive people. The ancient Slavonic people worshipped the oak tree because the lightning used to strike it with remarkable frequency. The Gauls and their Druids worshipped the mistletoe on account of wonderful properties it was said to possess. According to a French author, Michaud, the historian of the Crusades, a Persian sect or tribe, the Hashishim by name, venerated the *hashish* or indian hemp (*cannabis sativa*), which they used to excite their religious fanaticism when they were commanded to destroy some enemy. It is from the name *hashishim* that we derive the English word assassinate. The vine, whose produce has the quality of rejoicing the hearts of men, was sacred to the Greeks and the Romans, who set over it the gods Dyonisius and Bacchus as its protectors.

According to an article which appeared last June in a European review, there are now in Siberia some tribes which venerate a kind of mushroom, (the *amanita phalloides*), a fungus also found in South Africa and famous for producing a drunken state accompanied by fantastic dreamings. The same article also mentions that in Mexico some Indian tribes worship a small cactus called *echinocactus williamsii*, which is used in the same way as the above-mentioned fungus.

The Basuto of South Africa, apart from smoking the hemp, or dagga, as it is commonly called, (the smoking of which has no connection with any religious ceremony), also make use of certain plants for producing a state of intoxication during heathen ceremonies.

At the commencement of the initiation period, Basuto boys are given a mess of porridge which makes them drunk. It acts like a strong dose of alcohol on some natures, while on others it has a sickening or stupefying effect. For a long time the writer of this article has suspected that the plant used for this purpose was the plant called *buphane toxicaria*, but of this he was not certain, because the Native witch-doctors exercise

great care in not divulging their secrets, especially to White people. It was only recently, by the use of diplomacy and the help of a financial grant given by the Bantu Research Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand, that the writer was able to ascertain the real name of this secret medicine.

The *buphane*, called *leshoma* by the Basuto, is usually found on the hill slopes, and prefers the sunny northern side to a spot less congenial and warm. It has a large bulb growing partly above the ground and partly below, weighing from eight to twelve pounds. Towards the middle of October every year, it shoots forth a bundle of leaves which grow and spread out fanwise. At the same time a stalk also grows, which bears at its apex an umbel of pinkish flowers having some similarity to those of the *nerine*, but of a colour less bright than that bloom. In honour of the *buphane* the Basuto have named the month of October *mphalane ea leshoma*, the stalk of the *buphane*.

According to the writer's informants (two Native witch-doctors who gave their information separately) the bulb is very poisonous, and when mixed with the food of the initiates at the circumcision lodge, it must first be carefully measured. The taste is not bitter, and the boys do not object to its flavour. In this instance, the *buphane* is not used alone, but mixed with several ingredients of other plants and remedies, including the preserved flesh of enemies killed in war.

The initiates are taught that such a remedy will imbue them with the qualities of their ancestors and will tend to make men of them. When the signs of intoxication produced by the mixture are apparent, they are accepted as a token that the spirit of manhood has entered the youth's body¹.

This custom is not peculiar to the Basuto nation only. It appears that in many tribes the use of a similar remedy is an essential part in the initiation rites. Mgr. Leroy, in his book "*The Religion of the Primitives*," says that the people of Sette Cama, in Central Africa, "give to the initiates a decoction from the bark of a tree known to the botanists under the name of *Strychnos Ikaja*," and that the person who takes this mixture, or remedy, becomes unconscious for a stretch of about three days.

A peculiar property of the *buphane* is that under special circumstances it is not poisonous.

(¹) This remedy is also considered as a cup or draught of inspiration for the initiates at the circumcision lodge. During the initiation period, every boy has to compose a piece of poetry or praises, which he will recite publicly when he is liberated and the medicine which is given to them is supposed to communicate the gifts of poetry and eloquence.

The Basuto herdboys sometimes take two or three of its outer leaves and use them as a cup or receptacle for milking goats. When the cup or receptacle is ready and filled with milk, it is put over a fire, and the milk, without boiling, very soon thickens; this is probably through an emanation from the leaves, which themselves do not burn, their corners only becoming slightly charred. The herdboys relish this form of thick-milk and it produces no ill effect on them.

For the initiation of the witch-doctors and its accompanying ceremonies, another species of native plant is used. The concoction made therefrom is said to be non-poisonous, though Natives attribute to it great powers of acting on the brain and developing the mental faculties, especially the memory. This plant is a species of South African forget-me-not or *myosotis* having white flowers. The Basuto call it *sethuthu* and the Matebele or Zulus call it *lephukhuphukhu*.

It is supposed to aid the medicine man in remembering with ease the names and properties of the various plants, and also the facts and circumstances which will help him to carry on his work in a successful manner. It is a known fact that many of these doctors are really clever fellows and possess keen intellects, but whether they owe their cleverness to the use of this plant or not, is another question. The same plant is also used for sick persons undergoing a partial or temporary initiation.

Among the Natives of South Africa there are many cases of hysteria, and the complainants suffering from this mysterious disease speak of various sicknesses which exist only in their imagination. For such illnesses European doctors usually prescribe a general and mental treatment. Now, when such a case is brought to the notice of the witch-doctor, he throws down his *lotaola* or divining-bones and chants: *Motho eo o na le moea*, "This person has the spirit." By special permission from his or her relatives, the person ailing goes for a period to live at the home or near the home of the witch-doctor in order to be under his personal supervision.

A special medicine is then prepared for him, of which the main ingredient is the *sethuthu*, while the other plants are usually the *morara o moholo*, a kind of *polygonum*, the plant *bolao ba maqekha*, the charm of the witch-doctors, a kind of *polygala*, and the plant *seharane*, or *galium witbergense*. Some witch-doctors mix the *sethuthu* with the plant *leta la phofu*, the eland's saliva or *agapanthus umbellatus*. The roots of these plants are cooked together, and when the decoction is stirred, it produces a great amount of foam, which is caused mainly by the *sethuthu*,

When the patient has taken this foam or medicine, he is supposed to think and dream of other plants and remedies, which he collects early the following morning. After one or two months he is considered cured. His or her relatives then get ready for a feast and a great deal of beer is prepared. They also sacrifice an ox, of which the patient has also dreamed and which has been designated by him. On an appointed day a dance is held, the witch-doctors of the neighbourhood taking part in full dress, and often proceeding to jump and dance till complete exhaustion sets in. After the feast a head of cattle is presented to the witch-doctor as a fee, and the person formerly under his care returns to his home to attend to his duties once more. Many persons seem to be cured by this treatment when other remedies have failed.

Can it be possible that in these plants rests an ingredient which has beneficial effects on the brain and on the nervous system? It is the work of the doctors, and more especially of the analyst, to elucidate the question. Let us only note that, according to Profs. Watt and Brandwijk ("Bantu Studies" of July 1927) a plant closely allied to the *sethuthu*, the *cynoglossum officinale*, "contains an alcaloid with a curare-like action." We must also note that the *sethuthu* is the main ingredient of a charm, a kind of balm used by the Basuto for anointing the body of a young bride after the marriage ceremony and before she goes to her husband.

Another important remedy, or charm, used by the Basuto during their religious ceremonies, is the medicine kept in cast-off cattle horns, a composition of roots, parts of birds and other animals, and sometimes the flesh of slain enemies, the whole concoction being first charred and mixed with fat.

The composition of these *manaka* (horns) is not always the same. It varies according to the different purposes for which it is used. During the rites of initiation, a special kind of horn-medicine is used in connection with the intoxicating food already mentioned. It is then called *sehoere* by the Basuto. According to one informant the *sehoere* is made from the following ingredients: *Mothokho*, or *ipomoea oblongata*, *Mothoto*, or *cyperus fastigiatus*, *qoboi* or the root of the *phragmites communis*, *morara o moholo*, a kind of *polygonum*, *setima mollo*, or *pentanisia variabilis*, *leshokhoa* or *xysmalobium undulatum*, *mafifi matso* or *phygelius capensis*, *motsilla* or the rush *typha latifolia*, human flesh, and the flesh of the secretary bird, (the *leshokhoa*). One of these plants is slightly toxic, and sometimes the Basuto women take advantage of this property for making their beer more intoxicating. The beer is then called *joala ba hiki*.

It would be incomplete to write about the sacred plants of Basutoland without mentioning a very common one used in the course of everyday life and also in the religious ceremonies. This plant is the kaffir corn, used by the Natives for making bread and porridge, and also their beer, *joala*, which is the cause of much drunkenness among them. When the Basuto thresh their kaffir corn, or sorghum, they dig a hole in the ground, right in the centre of the thrashing floor. All the grain which falls into this central hollow is made into a beer called *joala ba leoa*, meaning "the beer of the fall." This beer is offered to the spirits of the Basuto ancestors, and a few drops are sprinkled into the fireplace in their honour. At the burial ceremonies, the Basutos used formerly to throw into the grave some grains of kaffir corn, to be sown, as they believed, by the departed spirit in the land in which it will live.

This useful plant is not without special merit, and therefore praises are sung in its honour. Here are the praises, or *lihoko*, of the kaffir corn :

Ngoetsi ea malapa ohle,

Khunoana ralithlaku thabisa lihoho,

Thabisa ba hlolang ba koatile.

The daughter in law of every house,

The brown one which with its many grains rejoices the hearts,

Rejoices even those who are always sulky.

MAKUA TALES

Contributed by

THE VEN. ARCHDEACON H. W. WOODWARD

I. ICHITAU

Kalai ahokala mtu mkayara ashana eli ashithanaru. Yala ashan'la vamalileaya wunnuwa mkayamwalana wokala mkina ilapo awe, mkina ilapo awe, namsho mwankani vamalileawe othelia owanyawe'le papataya chinene cholya, mhaku, olupale ale vamanleaya uthelia owanyayayo yari ohuvahuva, namsho yahomyara mwana mwanthiana. Ihinavira yele yak'ele athumwana ale mkayakwa, utuli m'nno anumwane ale mkayaroa ikuni Mluku mkahammaha novaha mmathathani mnarupile mkavitula itepo, yeleitepo'ele mkathuma ipota. Mahuku meli mararu mkayatharamwa uwerya anumwane ale mkayamwihana mwanaya, mkayamlela wira, "Kamalaka ukwa ukeleke wanumwana, ukusheke ni'pot'eyo uhikale umalaponi nno." Vamalileaya unlela yala malove ala mkayakwa. Vamalileaya ukwa, mwana ahopuwela malove anumwane, mkakusha ikuzo chawe mkawara, mkakusha mtapwata mkammaha ipota awe ile, mkatuka mkwaha uroa wanumwane akani. Vetileaya mpironi yahopwanya mtia mkayathanana urapacha, mkayarula ikuzo chaya mkayarapa, ule ipot'ele mkakuwa ukuma, mkawe a ikuzo chawawe ule nethi ule mkawara. Vakumileawe mwanene mkathana-na ikuzo chawe namsho mpota ahatheliha, wokala ari mulupale, nethi ule ari mwankani, wo nioko nenno ahopopihia ule, mkawe a mtapwatane, mkawara. Vapileaya wanumwane ipota akavahia ulili, makala iriaka pi nethi wokala ahopenya, nethi mkapangia ipota, ipota mkapangia nethi wo penya wawe, namsho yala anumwane yakalana imata yo mmuka, namsho pamalaya ashanuni. Mene yole nethi ule wokala upitingulia upangia ipota, mkerelia, "Kaweni momolele ashanuni nampota nyu." Mkaroa, wowo varoelawe womolele mkayawa ashanuni anchi, mwahim'ole piirawe wawomolele ashanuni ayo, "A a a a, wee mwanuni wee, wee mwanuni wee, amanyi yeria, wee nihuku nokwano ukeleke wanumwana, wee mwanuni, wee mwanuni." Yala malove ala iri epaka, atu ovawani ale vawileaya iraka chichamwe wowipa, mkayamkoha wira, "Unera chani wowipa." Ahinaya wakula anumwane yakwilale mkayakumela mkayalapa uhiloka ahimaya, yakumenle wonnepa chicho, atu ale vamalileaya uchuela wira ampangehu mpot'ole pi nethi, ampangehu nethi pi mpota. Mkayamla chinene, mkayamwarihacha ikuzo ule mpota ipangile nethi ule, mkevia, ule mkayamtuna chinene anumwane ayo. Pumala wo chitaru.

Y.K.

I. A TALE

Once upon a time there was a woman who had two children, both girls. When they were grown they separated, and one went to live in one country and one in another. But the youngest married a very rich man with plenty of food, and the eldest married a very poor man, but a daughter was born to them. Before the year was over the father died. After that the mother went one day to look for firewood, and there where she slept, providence gave her to find an elephant; and she sold the elephant for a slave. Two or three days afterwards she fell ill, and she called her daughter and said to her, "When I am dead, go to your aunt and take the slave with you; do not stay in this country." When she had said these to her, she died. When she was dead, her daughter remembered her mother's words, and she took her garment and put it on, and took an old rag and gave it to the slave, and set out to go to her little mother (aunt). As they went along, they came to a pond, and wanted to bathe. So they took off their clothes and bathed, and the slave came out first and took her mistress's garment and wore it. When she came out herself she wanted her garment, but the slave refused to give it her, and because she was big and her mistress was little, the mistress was afraid of her and she took the old rag and put it on. When they arrived at the aunt's, they gave the slave a mat to sit on, thinking she was the mistress; so by the cunning of the slave, the mistress was made the slave, and the slave was made the mistress. Now the aunt had a plantation of rice which the birds were destroying. So the mistress who had become the slave was told, "Go and drive the birds away you slave." So she went and there were many birds to drive, and as the child drove them away she sang "Ah! ah! ah! ah! wee birdie wee wee birdie wee wee birdie wee birdie, when mother died, she said go to your aunt." As she sang thus the people of the village came and said, "Why are you singing so?" And before she answered them, her mother who was dead, appeared, and rebused her sister strongly; she appeared like a spirit and then the people knew that they had made the slave into the mistress and the mistress into the slave. They wept bitterly and tore the garment from the slave and killed (her), and the girl was much loved by her aunt. The tale is finished.

II. KAPA NI ING'OTO

Kalai Kapa ahoroa uwetakachani, iriari ipiro mkapwanya mkukulu mulupale unathikilanihale ipiro. Uyo pahoriawe othupa wokalamyeto chawe chokuveacha; nave oyo akushale ipache, oholiha othupiha mkukulu, mwanene kuvira atwarihaka mkukulu mpaka uvelavenleaya. Ovira wawe kuvira atwarihaka mpaka uri ipiro awe. Nave uwo ewaka Ing'oto wakuwa

upia vari ipache ile, ovara. Kapa kwera, "Ipache yawaka miyo." Ing'oto kwera, "Yawaka miyo, ila kihorokota." Kapa kwera, "Nansho ipache ila thimi keshale nansho ukala waya nyuu mnera yawinyu mhorokota, kimwetu kushakani." Kapa wahiyera ipache'le na Ng'oto oroa, nave naKapa oroa wakelaya. Mahuku meli mararu Kapa ohokolea wakenleawe kwiki yole mkukulu'le wankushenre na Ng'oto ipachawe wapwanya na Ng'oto anari mpani mwila ayoyo unari vathe. Kapa uwawawe ovara mwila ole, kwera, "Mwilaka kihorokota." Ing'oto kwera, "Ah! Ah! wawaka miyo yoyo." Kapa kwera, "Kihorokota ula, wawaka thu." Otupula, oroa uwanawe ni mwilawe.

Mene kavamloka warokotaka itu ya mtu wohimmaha mwanene, nave oyo nowa orokota itu yawao awe othue. (JERARD SONJE).

II. THE TORTOISE AND THE LIZARD

The tortoise once went for a walk, and on the way he came to a large trunk right across the road. He could not get over it because he has short legs : but he was carrying a basket and he put it over the log first, and he himself followed the log round until he came to his own path. Now there came a lizard who arrived first at the place where the basket was and picked it up. The tortoise said, "That basket is mine." The lizard replied, "It is mine, I picked it up." The tortoise said, "But I put the basket there, but as you say it is yours because you picked it up, it does not matter, take it." So the tortoise left the basket, and the lizard went off, and the tortoise went on to where he was going. Two or three days afterwards, the tortoise came back and reached the place where the lizard had taken his basket from him, and he saw the lizard in a hollow of the log with his tail sticking out. The tortoise came up and took hold of the tail saying, "This tail is mine, I have picked it up." The lizard said, "Ah! ah! it is mine." The tortoise replied, "I have picked it up, it is mine." And he cut off the tail and went off with it.

So if you chance to pick up something that belongs to someone else without giving it to him, he will pick up something of yours.

III. MPICHA NI MTHUPI

Kalai chinene yahowola ithala chinene, parweliaya na Mpicha ni Mthupi mwithupini wavia cholya, wouwe yaahomrokota Kapa, omkumiha na Mpicha mnikulani mwawe mwe. Mpicha kwera, "Na Mthupi Kapa ula mwamoshe uwani unewenyu othithiaka uwo." Na Mthupi omkusha mpaka uwani we kwera, "Kinathanana kimoshe Kapa aka." Ashinene iwani,

kweria, "Eyo." *Na mthupi omoshawaya kuvira avalathaka mpaka oliala wira ihao yoshileaka, Kapa ovyu. Atu kwera*, "Yokala innuka mpani mu." *Uroiea uwehia nopwanyia kapa namamle uvyu. Na Mthupi wupuela kwera*, "Karwa karu Mpicha nokela ukimenya. *Na mbaya kikalathi wommo.*" *Na Mpicha waweherera na Mthupi kawile, orupia wichishuru na Mpicha wuwelela kwera*, "Na Mthupi, na Mthupi, mwiheni Kapa aka." *Nave na Mthupi kwera*, "Kihopwanya ulia." *Piva wanewenyu Mpicha upacheraka wipa wichishuru orumelelaka Mthupi wulumihia weuwe mlatu wo Kapa.*

(JERARD SONJE).

III. THE BUSTARD AND THE COCK

A very long while ago there was a great famine, and the bustard and the cock went into the forest to seek for food, and there they picked up a tortoise and the bustard tore him out of his shell. The bustard said, "You cock, roast this tortoise in the village there where you hear them pounding." So the cock took the tortoise to the village and said, "I want to roast my tortoise." And the people of the village answered, "Very well." While it was roasting, the cock wandered about scratching for food till he forgot there was anything he ought to be watching and the tortoise was burnt. And the people said, "What a smell there is coming from that house?" They went to see and found the tortoise quite burnt up. The cock thought, "If I go back, the bustard will beat me, I had better stay here." When the bustard found that the cock did not return, he went to sleep and early in the morning he cried saying "Oh cock, oh cock, bring me my tortoise," and the cock cried out, "I have found food." So when you hear the bustard crying in the early morning he is claiming his tortoise from the cock.

IV. UTHELA WO KAPA

Kalai yahokokala atu onyara mwana opani, mkati urera ichitau, inama chomkiaie uthanana uthela. Yele iwani ile wahomela mwiri mchina naya mtili, mchulummo yahokala ing'oto. Pahi peraya yawaka othela kwerehliaka, "Antuna onthela mwamwanaka ola aweleleke ing'oto uyo mtili uyo." *Inama chonkiaie kochelaka, pawaleaya kapa panawe*, "Nawela uthela." *Kwera*, "Uweleke mtili wiveke ing'oto." *Kapa panawe*, "Kiriuelie ishima." *Uruia ukela ashima ipuri ni mwalapwa umwiha umtukelela mchereshere mtili. Vamanleawe utukelela ukusha ishima ni manyashi, perawe wowaha ishima kuvahaka ipuri, manyashi kummahaka mwalapwa. Ing'oto kwera*, "We manyashi uvaheke ipuri ishima ummaheke mwalapwa." *Kapa kwipangaka thoko kaniwa pakuruwileaya ing'oto unchachera kapa, kapa pakushaleawe ekopo kwevaka ing'oto kuvelelaka waathathawe. Athathawe kwera*, "Nanano thelaka, kukala pu uthela.

IV. THE MARRIAGE OF THE TORTOISE

There was once a woman who had a daughter so exceedingly beautiful that all the animals wanted to marry her. There was in that village a tree called *mtuli* and up in the top of it there lived a lizard. So when there came anyone who wanted to betroth the girl, they were told, "He who wants to marry my daughter must climb up to the lizard in the *mtuli*." All the animals failed and then the tortoise came and said, "I want to betroth;" and he was told, "Climb up into the *mtuli* and kill the lizard." The tortoise said, "Make me some porridge." When the porridge was made, he borrowed a goat and a dog and tied them up under the tree. When they were tied up, he took the porridge and some grass, and he gave the porridge to the goat, and the grass to the dog. The lizard said, "Give the grass to the goat, and the porridge to the dog." The tortoise made as though he did not hear, and the lizard came down and scolded the tortoise and the tortoise took a stick and killed the lizard and told the uncles. So his uncle said "Now marry." And they married.

N.B. *Mtuli*—a tall tree with very smooth, slippery bark and branches only at the top—very difficult to climb.

V. IWUKU NI KAPA

Ashupale wohimya aneria, Kalai wahopakani umwathitthi ahumwa iwuku na ahumwa kapa. Kapa palimaleawe imata yulupale mkamwala nanhakwa chinene, newuku wohikala ni itu. Nihuku nimoka pawileaya newuku kwiria, "Anlokwaka, mroe nanthume nanhakwa umaka." Kapa panawe, "Nansho mi akinorya weta." Iwuku panawe, "Napwanyaka moloko kinoulapusha." Kapa panawe, "Namsho mi kalitelela ilimwe, mioloko chinawelenle." Iwuku panawe, "Kinoulapusha." Kapa kwiria, "Eyo, nanano kinavya amwanamashi." Waavya mpaka wirana amwanamashi kwiria, "Mroe nanano." Wetia mpaka upwanyia moloko, kapa panawe, "Vahimya vale kamnona." Iwuku kwiria, "Mhove, kinoulapushani nansho kapacheke thoko amwanamashi ni mrindi chaya." Kapa panawe, "Eyo." Walapusha onkiae, umala kapa panawe, "Anlokwaka mnokihahia." Iwuku kwiria, "Mene." Ukapiulia uhiia thottho kapa panawe, "Mai mai." Ukapiulia mpaka ututuni na kapa kurapeaka mashi Iwuku panawe, "Mroe." Kapa kwiria, "Mroeke namsho mnokihahia." Mpaka upwanyia imaka chichamwe. Upia waya umaka uthumachia maronda umala, iwuku kwiria, "Nihokolee nanano." Kapa panawe, "Akinotuna mpaka ilimwe." Iwuku kuthunalaka mpaka uhokolea veka wohipata mkwapa.

V. THE EAGLE AND THE TORTOISE

When the elders tell tales they say : Long ago the eagle and the tortoise were friends. The tortoise cultivated a large plantation and sowed linseed a great quantity, but the eagle had nothing. One day the eagle came and said, " My friend, let us go and sell the linseed at the coast." And the tortoise replied, " But as for me, I cannot walk." The eagle said, " If we meet a river I will take you across." The tortoise replied, " But as for me, I shall wait till the dry season, when the rivers are dried up." The eagle said, " I will take you across." The tortoise replied, " Very well, but I will first seek for porters." He sought until he found porters and said, " Let us go now." And they went until they came to a river, and the porters said, " Do you not see now that it is as I said." The eagle said, " Do not fear, I will take you across, but first I must take the porters and their burdens." The tortoise said, " Very well." He took them all over and when they had finished, the tortoise said, " My friend, you are leaving me behind." The eagle said, " No." And he caught hold of him and then dropped him, and the tortoise said, " *Mai, mai.*" And he took him up again as far as the bank and the tortoise was sick from the water. And the eagle said, " Let us go." The tortoise replied " Let us go but you are leaving me behind." And they went on thus till they reached the coast. When they reached the coast and had sold the goods, the eagle said, " Let us go back now." And the tortoise said, " I do not want to till the dry season." And the eagle was so angry that he went back alone without getting even a length of cloth.

VI. SHIREI NI KAULA NI INUI

Kalai yahoroa nashirei ni nakaula, wetakacha mwiini. Wetia, wetia, wetia, kaula uvitula itepo panawe, " Shirei itepo ila kihovitula." Shirei panawe, " Eku, yawaka mi yela." Kaula panawe, " Eku, yawaka." Shirei kwiria, " Hapo mi kiurwakaru uwani kera, yawaka, yawaka, yawaka." Kaula panawe, " Mi kera itepo aka iyo, iyo, miholo mmo, mmo, mo, mo, moo, moo, moooo." Vavao yahokangana chinene. Kaula panawe, " Nanano mroe wa ashulupale yanichuelihe nihivanane vathiru." Shirei kwiria, " Mroeke." Upia waya wa ashulupale, kaula panawe, " Kihovitula itepo na shirei pankipenyihaya." Shirei panawe, " Eyo. Itepo yawaka." Ihinaye ulamula ashulupale, pawaleaya, inui, yera'ka. " Itepo ina kaula na shirei ahovanela." Ashulupale kwiria, " Mkamalani thoko mwiwelele itu." Inui uwa thottho yeraka, " Itepo ina kaula na shirei ahovanela." Ashulupale peraya, " Nanano iholamula inui mummaheke kaula nyu mhovanela." Shirei panawe, " Eyo." Thottho panawe, " Nyu nanui kannohiana mpaka kalai." Wohotha upachera nenne nihuku mne inui ikale vai shirei noroa uthonya mlatu wo itepo.

VI. THE HONEY-BIRD, THE DOVE AND THE BEE

The honey-bird and the dove once went for a walk in the forest. And they walked and walked till the dove found an elephant and said, "Honey-bird, I have found this elephant." But the honey-bird said: "What! that is mine." And the dove said, "What! It is mine." The honey-bird said, "Ever since I left the village I have been saying, 'mine, mine, mine.'" And the dove replied, "As for me, I said, 'That elephant is mine, in front of us, there, th-e-e-ere.'" Whereupon they quarrelled much. And the dove said, "Now let us go to the elders that they may tell us, let us not kill each other for nothing." The honey-bird replied, "Let us go." When they came to the elders, the dove said, "I found this elephant and the honey-bird is cheating me of it." And the honey-bird said, "Yes the elephant is mine." Before the elders had judged, the bee came and said, "The elephant is the dove's and the honey-bird will have his share." And the elders said, "Be quiet and let us hear something." And the bee said again, "The elephant is the dove's and the honey-bird will have his share." And the elders said, "Now the bee has judged, give it to the dove, and you, honey-bird, will have your share." And the honey-bird said, "Very well." Then he said, "As for you, O bee, I do not leave you for ever." And it is no falsehood, for since that day, wherever the bee is, there the honey-bird goes and shows it because of the elephant.

VII. CHIRI WA ATHATTHA

Atu okalai aneria wotanga chiri wa Athattha yahopererya ipila mwila. Ipila yahokala na Athatthawe mchina naya Nammaha. Yahokalana miila. Chinchi cho wavaha atu, atu ale pi inama. Nammaha patharam-mwaya witanela miila, inama chonkiaie paroaya upata miila. Ipila panawe, "Mi akinocherenga wokala chiri wathattha kinopata mwila wekekae Athattha mi yayo kanokiliala." Inama chonkiaie uroacha, upatacha, mieri micheshe ipila ihinaye uroa, mweri wo nethanu ipila paroa aya kwiria, "Kapate wotaliva." Vapiaya wathatthaya, kweria, "Kihowa thattha mkivaheke mwila akoyo." Nammaha kweria, "Mwamchulwa aka, miila chihomala ana wari vai?" Ipila wohakula kukuluvelaka wonla, yeraka, "Thattha wathana wothe uwe, wathana wothe uwe." Kukala pu pererya wene. Ipila kunyanyala kampaka mmwako. Atu nanawe ya muntheacha yeraka, "Mkawehani napila ilelo mwila kumo." Chiri wathattha kanoloka. Kukala pumala.

VII. *PLENTY AT UNCLE'S*

The elders tell how, "plenty at uncle's" lost the coney his tail. The coney had an uncle whose name was Generous. And he had many tails to give to people, and those people were the animals. When Generous began to call them for tails, all the animals went to get tails. The coney said, "As for me, I shall not be in a hurry because there are plenty at uncle's and I shall get a proper tail, he is my uncle and he will not forget me." All the animals went and got them, but the coney did not go for four months. The fifth month the coney went saying to himself, "I will get a long one." When he came to his uncle's he said, "I have come, uncle, give me my tail." Generous said, "You are too late, the tails are finished, where were you?" Without answering the coney burst out crying, saying "Oh uncle, all our friendship, all our friendship." There was not one to be had. And the coney went off sulkily to the hill. And his companions laughed at him saying, "Look at the coney, to this day he has no tail."

"Plenty at uncle's" is no good. That is the end.

VIII. *ICHITAU CHO HUKULA NI KUCHUPA*

Kalai wahopakania umwathitthi, nahukula ni kuchupa. Mene nihuku nimoka paroeleaya nahukula wuthikilani mivini cho 'hipa, ponaleaya uruerya inama, vanhayani. Nahukula pahokolealaya ukela wahimearya anlokwaya nakuchupa, kweria, "Amwanaka, wakenleaka wuthikilani mivini kihona uruerya inama chinene." Kuchupa panawe, "Ikekae anlokwaya?" Hukula panawe, "Eyo, mene mroe wone amwanaka." Kuchupa panawe, "Mroeke etu noneke." Paroachiaya vapiaya vanhavani hukula panawe, "Kannona uruerya kamotha etu?" Kuchupa panawe, "Kamotha." Kuchupa panawe, "Nanano niryake chani!" Hukula panawe, "Nithipe ikokwe mnowiva inama." Kuchupa panawe, "Eyo." Kukulakeliaka uthipia ikokwe mpaka umala uthipia vamanleaya wisha, nu ukucho upopelia kuchupa panawe, "Anlokwaya nanano nihomala uthipa nu ukucho nereke chani wowiva?" Hukula panawe, "Ukivahe ipacho amwanaka." Kuchupa panawe, "Iyo vao." Hukula panawe, "Nanano mwivithe amwanaka." Kuchupa uroa wivitha utuli mno, hukula uthomea ipacho, kunlaka, "Ipacho aka, ipacho aka, ipacho aka, kere chani mi nanano kihovelavela." Uwa inari kweria, "Ana unonlani?" Hukula panawe, "Kinunlela ipacho aka nahothomea kalai nanano kinowochela uthomola, chonte pwiya mkithomolele kihovelavela mi." Inari kwiria, "Mkani va mnoninyakula hiyo." Vaneraya ithomoleke ipacho pauluenleaya mkokwe, ni hukula uthomola a ipacho aze upwathia. Hukula panawe, "Amwanaka, amwana-

ka, wooo!" Kuchupa panawe, "Ana chai uhivai?" Hukula kwera, "Eyo, mwakuweke etu mmweke nanano." Kuchupa uwa wawe kwera, "Eya, eya! eya! Kivahe kikusha etu." Mkathesa yonkia mpaka umapurononi wapaia yonkia. Utokota utokota, hukula panawe, "Nanano ahokala mashi mamoka nansho mi kinokela ukumini, kahokoleaka nikureke." Uroa wavya ikuni upia wawe ukunini, wikava mrupa uthomea vakokoloni, uhokolea umopopiha kuchupa, kuchupa umona wawe panawe, "Manyi, manyi, kiholavia kihomona nankwilakwila." Vavao atawaka mpaka utai, hukula ukura inama yonkia no umala wawe ukura uhokolea uwa maupala nawe kuthikilaka ikuni utuka uwiha wawe panawe, "Ana mkenle vai amwanaka?" Ahitana chinene kuchupa panawe, "Mi kahomwova namkwilakwila inama hokura." Hukula panawe, "Mokiwucha etu wova wawinyu nyuu." Hukula kwira, "Kavetu mwoeke niveke ikwawe namsho ukiola ithala." Upiachia vari ikokwee. Hukula uthomea ipacho thottho, kunlaka, "Ipacho aka, ipacho aka, ipacho aka." Uwa ipakala kwera "Ununlelani hukula?" Hukula panawe, "Ipacho aka kahothomea kalai nanano kinowochela uthomola." Ipakala kwera, "Mka va nithomole hiyo." Uwuluela mkokweni mmwe, hukula panawe, "Anlokwaka ila kiviva mwahierereke." Thottho ikuriaka ukushia mpaka umapurononi wapaia hukula ilemawe yele uroa ukunini wekava, thottho umopopiha kuchupa utawa hukula ukura vekawe uhokolea uthikila ikuni mrapala, ne uwara kwera, "Ama, ama, ama inama ikenle vai thottho!" Kuchupa panawe, "Kahotawa." Yole ahowa thottho ukopopiha vava kuchupa inammole chinene ithala. Hukula na rupanle ve, ve, ve. Hukula panawe, "Mroe thottho nive." Kuchupa panawe, "Mroeke namsho akinochuelacha rata." Hukula panawe, "Mene mhichukule." Wevia inyupu, kuchupa panawe alathe ipome, hukula panawe, "Ko ko ko ko." Unyala yoyo napyeke nakureke yotokota, urocia umapurononi wapenya, hukula panawe, "Kinokela wavya ikuni." Kuchupa panawe, "Kekeni." Uroa waya kuchupa kwalihaka neko mpaka hukula urula mrapala wesha vakokoloni, kuchupa onaka hukula uhokolea ukura inama, nawe kuchupa ukura mrapala no hukula. Kuchupa panawe, "Ana inama ele thinyu mwakura namena kihokura mrupa enyu'le." Hukula kwera, "Ikekeae amwanka, a a a ukivahe kinokwa nchurwa." Kuchupa mmara umkura te!

Pumala umwathitthi ni upenya uuna nahukula.

VIII. THE TALE OF THE RABBIT AND THE HYENA

There was once friendship between the rabbit and the hyaena. Now one day the rabbit went to cut handles for hoes, and he found the footprints of animals in the sand. When the rabbit returned, he went and told his friend the hyaena, saying, "My friend, when I went to cut

handles I saw the footprints of many animals." The hyaena said, "Really my friend?" and the rabbit replied, "Yes, so come and see." And the hyaena said, "Let us go and see something." And they went till they reached the sand and the rabbit said, "Do you not see the footprints? I did not lie." And the hyaena replied, "You did not lie." The hyaena said, "Now what shall we do?" The rabbit said, "Let us dig a pit and kill the animals." The hyaena said, "Very well." So they began to dig a pit until they had finished to dig it very deep, and covered it with branches, and the hyaena said, "My friend, now we have finished to dig and to lay branches, how are we going to kill them?" The rabbit said, "Give me an axe, my friend." And the hyaena replied, "Here is one." The rabbit said, "Now hide yourself, my friend." So the hyaena went and hid himself at the back, and the rabbit hung up the axe and cried out, saying, "My axe, my axe, my axe, what shall I do now, I am at a loss?" And there came a buffalo and said, "What are you crying for?" And the rabbit said, "I am crying for my axe, I hung it up a long while ago, and now I cannot get it down, please, sir, get it down for me, I am at a loss." The buffalo replied, "Get out of the way, you are disturbing us with your noise." And he went to reach down the axe and fell into the pit and the rabbit reached down the axe and killed him. Then the rabbit called, "My friend, my friend, wooo!" And the hyaena said, "What! have you not killed it?" The rabbit said, "Yes, be quick and come now." The hyaena and exclaimed, "Eya, eya, eya! give it me to carry." And they carried it together into the camp and cooked it. And it boiled and boiled. "Now add some water once, but I am going to get firewood, when I come back we will eat it." And he went to look for firewood and when he came to where there was firewood, he took off his skin and hung it on a stump, and went back to frighten the hyaena. When the hyaena saw him he said, "Mother, mother, I am terrified, I have seen a red red thing." Whereupon he ran ever so far away, and the rabbit ate up all the meat, and when he had finished eating it all he went back to where he was cutting the firewood and tied it up and carried it back, and said, "Where have you gone to, my friend?" And he called loudly, and the hyaena replied, "I was afraid of a red red thing and it has eaten the meat." And the rabbit said, "You have wronged by your cowardice." And the rabbit said, "It is nothing, let us go and kill again, but I am very hungry." When they came to the pit, the rabbit hung up his axe again and cried out, "My axe, my axe, my axe." And there came an eland and said "What are you crying for rabbit?" And the rabbit said, "I hung up my axe a long while ago, now I am unable to get it down." The eland said "Get out of the way, I will get it down," and he fell into the pit, and the rabbit said, "My friend, I have killed this one, do

not let it go." And again they carried it to the camp and cooked it, and the rabbit went as before by himself for firewood, and he frightened the hyaena who ran away and the rabbit ate by himself and returned from cutting firewood and he put on his skin and said, "*Ama, ama, ama*, Where has the meat gone to again?" And the hyaena said, "I ran away, that thing came again and frightened me." And the hyaena was very hungry indeed, but the rabbit had eaten to the full. The rabbit said, "Let us go again and kill." And the hyaena said, "Let us go but I do not rightly understand." The rabbit said, "Do not be grieved." They killed a mule, and the hyaena began to lick the blood, and the rabbit said, "*Ko, ko, ko, ko*, that is filthy, let us cook it and eat it cooked," and they went to the camp and the rabbit in his cunning said, "I am going to look for firewood." And the hyaena said, "Go." And when he went the hyaena crept after him till the rabbit took off his skin and put it on the stump, and when the hyaena saw the rabbit he returned and ate the meat, and the hyaena ate the skin of the rabbit. And the hyaena said, "Because of the animals that you ate, I have eaten your skin." And the rabbit said, "Truly my friend, *ah, ah, ah, ah*, give it me, I shall die from the sun." And the hyaena caught him and ate him up.

So the friendship came to an end through the cunning of the rabbit.

IX. INYIPI NA ANUMWANE

Inyipi ahokalana anumwane, parunyawe wathana. Nihuku nimoka anumwane inyipi pawereiaya nikwata pamwitammniaya inyipi kweria, "Mwanaka mi nanano kinokwa nansho kikwaka mwanaka unohuwela yolya." Inyipi panawe, "Mkilele chowira wopata cholya." Anumwane kweria, "Yolya yuwolaka ithala wereke wounla 'Mkavire ukanle, amanyi, amanyi, amanyi, mwatu mkavire.' Vavao uwuhulaka vathi unopata." Anumwane pakwilaya. Inyipi mkati uhuva ithala mahuku macheshe nihuku no nethanu panawe, "Kinolika chenreaya wokilela amanyi." Kunlaka eraka, "Mkavyere ukenle amanyi, amanyi, amanyi, mwatu mkaavyere." Vavao awuhulaka vathi 'nyipi mkati upata cholya chinchu kukala pu ulama wawe mpaka ilelo. Pivale vanomona inyipi vale awuhulaka vathi mahukuene awuhulaka vathi vavale wokula nounla nera mkavyere ukenle amanyi, amanyi. Kukala pimno nihomala.

Y. MP.

IX. THE WEASEL AND HIS MOTHER

The weasel lived with his mother, and they were very fond of each other. One day the weasel's mother fell ill with a wound, and she called her son, the weasel, and said to him, "My son, I am now going to die,

but when I die my son, you will be in distress for food." And the weasel said, "Tell me what I shall do to get food." And his mother said, "When you are hungry for food, cry out and say, 'show me where my mother is buried, mother, mother, some of you show me,' there burrow underground and you will find it." And the mother died. And the weasel was very hungry for four days, and on the fifth day he said, "I will try as my mother told me." And he cried saying, "Show me where my mother has gone, my mother, my mother, some of you show me." Thereupon he burrowed underground and the weasel found much food and he was saved from hunger even to this day. So when you see the weasel burrowing underground, always burrowing underground, it is because he cried to the people saying "show me where she has gone, my mother my mother." And that is the end.

X. KATHELA

Ahokala mtu ohithela nchina nawe Kathela. Parinawe mtavi nowiva mahikuene. Mahikuene aroaka utavini kuivaka. Nihuku nimoka pahema-leawe mwiri mkula mkathathusha ukala opani orera, mkawe mpaka uwani. Wichishu waya mkaroa utavini, mkeva anahe enchi omala athanu. Vapiiaya uwani atu ale kwitanachaka manyatwaya mkahala Kathela vekawe. Nawe Kathela mketana atwawe mkawa anamwenle mrushu, mkawa akoromaka. Atu ale onkia kweria, "Kathela pithenle." Kathela mkaroa umaka nave karamu panawe hukula kawe wakikushere mahano anaa Kathela hukula mkawe mpaka wa karamu. Karamu panawe, "Kannohuva." Vahokoleawe Kathela panawe, "Kivahie chitu chaka." Mkavahia mkayahala ipande. Opani kweria, "Nanano mi kinokwa yaweiya." Karamu panawe, "Yawaka yayo kinowiva." Wohipicha mkawa chipanga mkakula ipande kukala pukwa wene. Mlatu yahompenyiha mwanene wichona ukomala na Karamu kukala pumala.

Y. MP.

X. THE BACHELOR

There was a man who did not marry and his name was Bachelor. He laid snares and killed game. Every day he set his nets and killed many animals. One day he carved a *mkula* tree and made it into a beautiful woman. The next morning, he set his nets and killed about five animals. When he reached home the men called their wives and only Bachelor was alone. And Bachelor called his wife and she came and gave him a relish kneeling. And the people all said, Bachelor has married. Now Bachelor went to the coast, and the lion sent the rabbit to fetch Bachelor's wife and the rabbit brought her to the lion. And the lion said, "You will not be hurt." When Bachelor returned, he said,

"Give me what belongs to me," and he was given everything except the charm. And the woman said, "Now I shall die if this is taken away." And the lion replied, "If he comes I will kill him." Whereupon there came a kite and flew off with the charm. So she died.

By cheating the owner, the pride of the lion came to an end.

XI. IPITU NI KARAMU

Ipitu ni karamu yahopakana umwathithi. Anki nihuku nimoka ipitu pivaleaya inama. Karamu uruma itata kweria, "Mroe wa amlokwaka kuhowina wira aheva inama." Itata paroaleaya mpaka unanana-pitu kweria, "Anlokwenyu yeria inama waola ikwilu." Ipitu ukela mpani ukusha mweto wo inama. Kweria, "Wani mwavaheke akina malo ve manchi." Itata ukusha mweto'ole uroa wavaha na karamu. Karamu ukura mpaka umlala. Vamanleawe ukura karamu ahoroa mweni wulupatani umwiva Paako uhokolea nave na ipitu wiwa. Nave yahoruma ikonya kweria, "Mwakivelele unakaramu namsho mwiwechesheke mlove no opacha." Uroa ikonya upia unakaramu kweria, "Amlokwenu ahokiruma." Karamu panawe, "Nama kahi yayo." Uvahlia uhohokolea kweria, "Namsho yerie na karamu inama kahi yayo." Ipitu panawe, "Umwathithi nanano pahi, ikonya mroe nithame niroe umashini karamu hinivare, kukala, puthama ipitu umashini mpaka ilelo kanathana karamu ni ipitu. Y. MP.

XI. THE HIPPOPOTAMUS AND THE LION

The hippopotamus and the lion made friends. Now one day the hippopotamus killed an animal, and the lion sent the buck and said, "Go to my friend, I hear he has killed an animal." So the buck went to the hippopotamus and said, "Your friend says, he wants some of your meat." So the hippopotamus went into the house and brought out a leg of the animal and gave him saying, "Take it and give it him, I have not many words." The buck took the leg and gave it to the lion. And the lion ate it right up. When he had finished eating it, the lion himself went hunting and killed a boar and returned with it, and the hippopotamus heard. And he sent the crocodile, saying, "Go and beg for me from the lion, but listen attentively to his first word." So the crocodile came to the lion and said, "Your friend has sent me." And the lion said, "He is the animal himself." He was given some meat and returned, saying, "The lion said, 'He himself is the animal.'" And the hippopotamus said, "Our friendship is at an end." Crocodile said, "Let us go and live in the water, lest the lion catch us." And they did so and the hippopotamus changed his abode and lives in the water, and to this day the lion and the hippopotamus do not agree.

XII. MORUERYA KANNOMALIA UREIYA

Yahoroa inaka ukela wetakacha mmwako, ponaleaye uruerya, ipila, kweria, "Ku'namsho mtheke kolavia chihoruerya cheiya." Kuvira aviaka kamoche upelia no uroaka uwani. Ukwachia, urithia umala'no, upangia ithapa. Wamanleaya upangia ithapa pakenleaya wureani mmwakoni. Ureiya ithapa umala. Vamanleaya ithapa, moruerya kuhalaka, ukela ukava mikoi mpaka wochea. Vamanleaya wochea, ukela wahula ikuwo mpaka umala moruerya kuhalaka, moruerya mohimala.

Vahokoleaya inawanre mathakuru yayo, mathakuru ayo pu pachera uvava mpaka ilelo. Chitu cha velaponi kachineranahia chonkia upata mtu mmoka. Pumala. Y. MP.

XII. WHERE THERE IS GAME THERE IS NO END TO SNARING

The kite went for a walk to a hill where he found many footprints of conies and he said, "Ku, here is the place for me to set traps." And he went about looking for sisal to make string, and he went home and stripped and twisted it till it was finished and made into snares. When he had finished making his snares he went to the hill to set them. And he laid his snares till he had finished. And when he had finished, there were still footprints left, and he looked for string till he was tired. And when he was tired he tore up his clothes till they were finished and there were still footprints left, there was no end to the footprints. When he went home, he clothed himself with leaves and by those leaves he began to fly as he does to this day.

It is impossible for one person to get everything in the world. The end.

XIII. ALOPWANA NO OPANI NA ALAPWA

Kalai Alopwana kayakalakala vamoka no Opani, wahokala moloko nchina naya Chowo, mulupale chinene. Alopwana pakalaya nikopela naya, nave Opani kukalaka nikopela naya. Nansho Opani yahokalana alapwa, yayo alapwa ayo yari owiva chinene inama. Opani mahikuene wohirerya mathapa inamaru thu. Kwiki Alopwana kayalawiha inama wokala kayarina alapwa. Anki nihuku nimoka Alopwana kweria, "Mroe naashime alapwa." Uroachia mpaka ulapuia Chowo, upiia wari Opani, ukohania mretele umala, Alopwana kweria, "Nawela alapwa mnaashime." Opani kweria, "Waashimiekeni, nansho mherele, mmare, mmare, mkuwelaka, nansho mwereka mwapwanyaka inama iyo, mwereke, Kwi, kwi, kwi, kwi, vathivathi." Alopwana kweria, "Eyo." Kulekaka yeraka,

"Mnowawiha mkucha." Alopwana vamanleaya upia uwani, papwahe-nreaya wuthakoni uthothihia, alapwa upwanyia inama peraya, "Kwi, kwi, kwi, kwi," alapwa mkati uvara inama cho mcheche. Uhokoleia, kweria, "Mroe thottho," uroachia upwanyia chikina. Nenno nihuku no naeli vamanleaya upwanyia, kweria, "Mmare, mmare, mmare." Mtunanaoyo kumochele, "Aka, aka! Ko! Ko! koko! kokooo." Vava yaholiala kwi, kwi, alapwa wiwa waya yale malove ale patawachaleaya, wokonia thottho. Alopwana kweria, "Nereke chani nanano hapo nihariha alapwa ashinene." "Mmroeke nahimyeke etu." Vapiiaya wo Opani kweria, "Alapwa ale nihariha." Opani kweria, "Mhoteka, nanano nyu mhopakama, mnithekeleke inupa." Alopwana kweria, "Eyo." Panothekaya inupa mpaka ilelo. Pi nlatu Alopwana yapataka itu inokala yo Opani. Upata inupa ikuwo, imata, ni chikina chinokala cho Opani wo yole mlatu wa lapwa'ole.

Y.M.

XIII. MEN, WOMEN, AND DOGS

Once upon a time, men and women did not live together. There was a very big river called Chowo, and the men lived on their side of the river and the women on their side. But the women had dogs, and the dogs were great hunters, the women every day had their relish of meat. But the men never tasted meat because they had no dogs. Now one day the men said, "Let us go and borrow the dogs." So they went and crossed the river and came to the women, and after greeting them, the men said, "We have come to borrow the dogs." The women said, "Take them but do not shout at them, 'catch it, catch it, catch it,' but say when you see an animal, *kwi, kwi, kwi, kwi*, in a whisper." And the men said, "Very well." And they took leave and said, "We will bring them back after two days." As soon as the men reached home, they went hunting and when the dogs found an animal, they said "*kwi, kwi, kwi, kwi*," and the dogs caught as many as four animals. And when they returned, they said, "Let us go again." And they went and caught more. But the next day when they found game they said, "Catch it, catch it, catch it, do not be beaten by your own kind! *aka, aka, ko, ko, kokooo!*" Thus they forgot *kwi, kwi*, and when the dogs heard those words they ran away and were not seen again. And the men said, "What shall we do now we have lost the owner's dogs? Let us just go and tell them." When they came to the women they said, "We have lost the dogs." And the women said, "You are our debtors, you are trapped, now you must build us houses." The men answered. "Very well." And they build their houses to this day. That is why when men get things it is for the women. They get them houses, clothes, plantations and other things which women have, all because of the dogs.

XIV. MTU NI KARAMU MNIKULE

Mtu aholima imata mkamwala nakuo. Paliawe ikuluwe mene pathipalaawe ikokwe, chawaaka ikuluwe chiwuluele. Pawaliawe karamu mmatanimwe uwelahweha ikuluwe. Ponaliawe ikuluwe chinari mchereshere imataele, pethenleawe uthanana uvara, vathupaliawe mkauluwela mkokweni ikuluwe mkachatawacha, karamu ahocheela ukuma mpaka wichishu. Wichishuru ahopeherya mwanene imata uwaha ikokweawe, woniawe wiva yokala itu iwuluenle ahakwacha urwaa uwaha erihaka vakina ikuluwe. Vathurumenliawe kumwonaka karamu, powaliawe kuthananaka uhokolaa itulituli. Karamu panawe uhokoliaakowo chani? Mweke mkikumihe akinoopangani itu, mene mtule pawaliawe mwiri kupangaka nivata kara mukukumaa-ka munlitinimwe. Vakumaliawe panawe mhokitekela ilelo kanomwalaana mwathanana ukiiva. Mtu panawe nansho mi kaaria ikuluwe chinommala nakuoaka nyuo kamnomkuura nakuo, karamu ahotiyeela mmawuni horye wiwa yayo malwoveayo. Mtu ahomaala wohulumacha thotho. Wohipicha pawaliaya nikule kupwanyeraka yala malove ala. Nikule pakohaliaya ana inolumachiani vava. Mtu pakunleawe wira mi kahothipa ikokwe ikuluwe chinommala nakuoaka. Pauluenliaya amweneala, kwiriaka mhokitekela mwathanana ukiiva. Nikule panaya ikuweyo chari vai? Karamu panawe chari vaa, Nikule panaya nyuu mwari vai? Kara mu panawe kemenle uwo. Nikule panaya mkarwaani mwalike chenreenyu wothupa. Karamu ahorwaa ulika uthupa panawe kenree chooo; mkauluwela mkokweni mwe thotho. Mtu mnikule mkatawaka, mpirooni mtu ahokoha nikule wira kuwahekeni isheni ukalawaya mhokopola, Nikule panaya mwahinakivahe itu nansho kinoutwaraani mpaka uwani ukalawaya namena kinomova karamu, vapiiyaya uwani nikule napiyenrye uwela vatharini umova karamu pupachera nikule urupa mchulu manyashini. Mahuku vakaani nikule nahopachera uhoovachitucha. Atu mpaka ilelo mnopuwela cheni yeoya wonikaviherera hiyo naatuva. Nankelauvi nikule ninonitwara, nanthekaaka inupa vachitu wohikala atu nikule mnowoona mwaaka. Upachera nenne nihukunne hiyo na atuva nahothepa umova karamu namwi waka araaka kenrye choo kenrye choo chooo chooo choo choo.

EGBERT.

XIV. THE MAN, THE LION AND THE RAT

A man made a plantation and sowed maize. There came pigs and ate it, so he dug a pit, that when the pigs came they might fall into it. Now there came a lion to the plantation looking for pigs. When he saw a pig walking about the plantation, he wanted to catch it and when he sprang at it, he fell into the pit and the pig ran away. The lion could not get out till the morning. Early in the morning the owner came to the

plantation to look at his trap, and when he saw that something had fallen into it, he made haste to see if it was a pig. But when he saw that it was a lion there, he wanted to go back. The lion said, "What are going back for? Come and get me out, I will do nothing to you." So the man brought a pole and made a ladder, and the lion got out of the pit. When he was out, he said, "You have wronged me, we do not part to-day, you wanted to kill me." And the man said, "But I set the trap for the pigs which are eating my maize, you do not eat maize." The lion stopped up his ears, so that he should not hear those words. And the man was silent and said no more. Thereupon there came a rat and found those words. The rat asked, "What are you talking about here?" And the man said to him, "I set a trap for the pigs which are eating my maize, and this gentleman fell in, and said to me, 'You have wronged me, you wanted to kill me.'" And the rat said, "Where was the pig?" And the lion said, "It was here." And the rat said, "Where were you?" And the lion said, "I was standing over there," and the rat said, "go and show us how you tried to jump." And the lion went and tried to spring, saying, "I did *soo!*" And he fell again into the pit. And the man and the rat ran away, and on the way the man asked the rat, "What shall I give you for saving me?" And the rat said, "Do not give me anything but I shall follow you home because I am afraid of the lion. When they got home the rat climbed up into the roof for fear of the lion. That was the beginning of the rats sleeping up in the grass. After a few days the rat left off being afraid of people's things even to this day, and you will remember how the rat helps us men. Wherever we go the rat follows us. If we build a house in a place where there is no one, the rat sees us and comes. And ever since that day we men are more afraid of the lion when we hear him saying "I did *soo* I did *soo*, *sooo*, *soooo*, *soo*, *so*, *so*."

(*To be continued*).

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST MEETING
OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN INTER-UNIVERSITY
COMMITTEE FOR AFRICAN STUDIES

The first meeting of the newly formed Inter-University Committee for African Studies and Research (which has taken the place of the Union Advisory Committee) was held in the Old University Buildings, Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town, on January 18th and 19th, 1932.

There were present delegates of the following Universities :—

Cape Town : Mr. A. J. H. Goodwin and Dr. I. Schapera (the latter acting for Professor T. T. Barnard) ;

Pretoria : Professors E. H. Brookes and G. P. Lestrade ;

Stellenbosch : Dr. J. A. Engelbrecht ;

Witwatersrand : Professors C. M. Doke and R. F. Alfred Hoernlé (the latter acting for Mrs. Hoernlé).

There were apologies from Dr. W. Eiselen (Stellenbosch) and Principal A. Kerr and Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu (South African Native College, Fort Hare.)

There were also present Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones (Editor of *Bantu Studies*), who had acted as Convener, and Messrs. W. G. Bennie (Cape Town) and F. Posselt (Southern Rhodesia), both of whom attended by invitation.

The Convener having reported that all Universities had appointed representatives to the Committee which was thus fully constituted, Professor G. P. Lestrade was elected Chairman of that meeting and Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones Secretary.

The Committee dealt with a very lengthy agenda, the following matters being the more important of those considered during two sessions :—

Orthography :

Reports submitted by the Chairmen of the several orthography committees showed that, although each committee has decided upon a

different orthography, each language group has now its own official orthography available for enforcement by the Education Departments concerned. There exists a great deal of misunderstanding among missionaries, Natives and others regarding the nature of the orthography recommendations ; in some quarters it is thought that the recommendations actually involve drastic changes in the languages themselves. It is very desirable that this misconception should be removed.

The Committee decided to continue the Central Orthography Committee which will keep in touch with the educational authorities. Steps will also be taken by this Committee to inform the public on matters affecting the orthography of the Southern Bantu languages. Dr. Engelbrecht was added to the Central Orthography Committee.

The Transvaal Education Department has appointed a Language Board for Transvaal Sotho to advise it on questions connected with that language, and the Central Committee will keep in touch with this Board and similar ones which, it is hoped, will be formed for other languages.

Membership :

It was decided to invite the following bodies to be represented on the Inter-University Committee :—

The Union Native Affairs Department, the Union Education Department, the High Commission Territories, the Government of Southern Rhodesia, the South African Institute of Race Relations, the South African General Missionary Conference, and *Bantu Studies* (through its Editor—Mr. Rheinallt Jones).

Officers :

Professor G. P. Lestrade was elected Chairman for 1932 and Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones was appointed permanent Secretary, with the South African Institute of Race Relations as Secretariat.

Representation on other Bodies :

The Secretary was appointed the Committee's representative on the Governing Body of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures ; and Professors T. T. Barnard and G. P. Lestrade were appointed to serve on the Council of the South African Institute of Race Relations, with which the Committee is affiliated.

Departure of Dr. C. T. Loram for the U.S.A.:

Great regret was expressed at the departure of Dr. C. T. Loram for the United States. He had served as Chairman during the existence of the Union Advisory Committee and had been most active in furthering research work in African Studies.

Visit of Professor D. Westermann :

It was agreed to extend a cordial invitation to Professor D. Westermann, one of the Directors of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, to visit South Africa in connection with language and other research activities.

Organisation of Research :

Much consideration was given by the Committee to the organisation of research in Southern Africa. Considerable correspondence has passed between the Committee and the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures on this matter. The International Institute has secured funds to enable it to commence on a large scale a survey "of the forces of cohesion in original African Society ; the ways in which these are being affected by new influences ; the tendencies towards new grouping and the formation of new social bonds ; and the forms of co-operation between African societies and Western civilisation." The Committee has made a number of suggestions for full co-operation with the International Institute, particularly in Southern Africa, where so many forms of cultural contacts are to be found.

Two sub-Committees—one consisting of anthropologists and the other of language specialists—were formed to (a) make investigations as to the information that is available in South Africa, published and unpublished, in respect of research work already achieved in social anthropology and linguistics ; (b) ascertain what field work is on hand and how it can be correlated ; and (c) map out a programme of further field work. The Committees are made up as follows :—

Anthropology : Dr. I. Schapera (Convener), Professor G. P. Lestrade, Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, and Dr. W. Eiselen ;

Linguistics : Professors C. M. Doke (Convener), G. P. Lestrade, Dr. Engelbrecht and Mr. W. G. Bennie.

The Conveners will be glad to receive communications from persons engaged in one or other of these fields of research.

Place and Date of next Meeting

It was decided to hold the next meeting in Pretoria at the beginning or the end of the next winter vacation (June—July), and at a time to coincide, if possible, with the session of the South African General Missionary Conference.

VARIA

Volume I of *Bantu Studies* has been out of print for some time, but it has now been reprinted in a size uniform with the remaining volumes. Copies may be obtained at 10s. each, post free. Indexes of Vols. II-IV are also available.

The disastrous fire which, on December 24th, destroyed the library and many other departments of the University of the Witwatersrand, also destroyed some stocks of *Bantu Studies Supplements*. Damaged copies of Soga's *The South-Eastern Bantu* and of Marconnès' *Grammar of the Karanga Language* may be obtained at 4s. and 3s. respectively.

Attention is drawn to *Books for Africa*, the quarterly bulletin of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, which is being issued from Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, to provide workers in the African field with "information on books relating to that continent and news of literature plans in different areas." The bulletin is sent free to missionaries, others may receive it on payment of a subscription of 2s. a year.

In order to facilitate the study of exotic customary law (including the indigenous law of Central and South Africa) the "*Salle de travail d'ethnologie juridique*," founded in 1929 in the Faculty of Law of the University of Paris, is prepared to act provisionally as a central bureau. It will publish a bulletin once or twice a year giving information on the studies that are being made in this field.

BOOK REVIEWS

Swazi Texts with Notes. By J. A. Engelbrecht, M.A., Ph.D. Department of Bantu Studies, University of Stellenbosch. Annals of the University of Stellenbosch, Vol. VIII, Section B, No. 2. (November 1930), Nasionale Pers Beperk, Cape Town. 21 pp.

In the almost complete absence of any material on the interesting and sufficiently important Swazi dialect of the Nguni group of Bantu languages, this small but illuminating collection of texts made by Dr. Engelbrecht is very welcome.

The booklet is divided into three parts, the first containing some useful general remarks, *inter alia* a list of Swazi clans with some details about present location and history of each; the second consists of the texts themselves, with translations in parallel into English; the third comprises Notes, of an explanatory nature, giving variants, commenting on linguistic points, elucidating ethnographical matter, etc.

The orthography employed in the Swazi texts and words cited is a slight adaptation of the current spelling in vogue for Zulu, but, contrary to the practice of these current spellings, aspiration is always indicated, together with ejection, (except, in the latter case, after a homorganic nasal), while the combinations of nasal and click (nasal plus radical click on the one hand, and nasalised click on the other) are indicated by e.g. *cn*, *nc*, instead of the now common *nc*, *nkc*; in addition to these and other minor variants, the bilabial affrications of *t* and *d*, peculiar to Swazi, are indicated by *tf* and *dv* respectively, while nasalisation of vowels, which apparently takes place to a much greater extent in Swazi than in Zulu, is indicated by ~ above the nasalised vowel, the nasal consonant which always succeeds such vowel in Zulu disappearing in Swazi (e.g. Zulu *phansi*, Swazi *phāsi*). Despite these departures, some necessary and some perhaps unnecessary, from current Zulu orthography, the text is easily and correctly readable by anyone cognisant of what the symbols used ordinarily stand for in the Nguni languages.

Both the language of the texts and their contents are very interesting, and make one long for more. Perhaps at a later stage Dr. Engelbrecht will give us that more: and if he accompanies it with a comprehensive analysis of Swazi phonesis, phonology, and morphological characteristics, we shall be even more grateful to him than we are now.

G. P. LESTRADE,

Swazi Customs relating to Marriage. By J. A. Engelbrecht, M.A., Ph.D.
Department of Bantu Studies, University of Stellenbosch.
Annals of the University of Stellenbosch, Vol. VIII, Section B,
No. 3 (November 1930). Nasionale Pers Beperk, Cape Town. 27
pp.

The ethnography of the Swazi-speaking tribes and clans, like their language, has hitherto remained almost completely unrecorded, and one is glad to see this little monograph on one of the most important aspects of Swazi life—more especially in the absence of any comprehensive and authoritative account of general Nguni custom in this connection, which might hitherto have served us as a guide, which we have up to now so sorely lacked, to Swazi custom. Now Swazi custom has its own guide.

The booklet consists of two parts : the first, occupying by far the greater space, consists of the account itself : the second, a little more than four pages in extent, contains notes and comments on various points in the narrative.

Dr. Engelbrecht has furnished us with a plain unvarnished tale of Swazi marriage customs, more particularly the social mechanism and legal implications of these customs, in a manner which, while avoiding the general defects of the pure text-method, retains most of the virtues of that method : his narrative is, as he informs us, to a large extent simple translation or paraphrase of his informants' actual words, though often the order or presentation of the facts has had to be rearranged. No one who has done actual field-work on such an involved subject can quarrel with this method. The social anthropologist might perhaps have wished for a little more explanation of why things are done as they are done, and Dr. Engelbrecht has on occasion ventured upon pure theory in one connection or another. In the main he has however contented himself with describing what happens, leaving the facts available for those who at a later stage may wish to undertake their explanation. References to varying custom are given both in the text and in the notes, and side-references to Zulu and other Nguni customs are found here and there. Altogether, this modest monograph contains a very great deal of material. It is to be hoped that in the near future Dr. Engelbrecht may be able to provide us with still further information about this and other aspects of Swazi life, of one department of which he has given us such a thorough account.

G. P. LESTRADE.

A Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics. By Clement M. Doke, M.A., D.Litt., Professor in Bantu Studies, University of the Witwatersrand. viii+298 pp. University of the Witwatersrand Press, Johannesburg, 1931.

This work, the latest of the important contributions which Prof. Doke is making to the study of Bantu phonetics and linguistics generally, carries out the promise made in his previously-published *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects*, that at an early date a comprehensive phonetic study of Shona would be forthcoming from his pen. The promise has been speedily and amply carried out. A certain proportion of the material is admittedly little more than a repetition or rearrangement of what was already available to us in the earlier book ; but by far the greatest proportion of the work is new, and forms, together with the already-published material (which, however, one is glad to have collected into one book with the rest) a remarkably complete and accurate treatment of the whole vast subject of Shona phonetics.

The book is divided into five parts : the first, in three chapters, gives a regional-genealogical classification of the Shona languages, with statistics as to the sub-divisions in regard to geographical position, number of speakers, intra-Shona and extra-Shona affinities, etc., a chapter on *Phonetic Studies in Bantu*, and a chapter of references to orthography, dialects, bibliography, etc. The second, in thirteen chapters, treats of the phonesis of Central Shona ; the third, in six chapters, of Eastern Shona ; the fourth, in six chapters, of Western Shona. Part V, in seven chapters, deals with general phonetic phenomena of Shona. In addition, there are seven appendices, giving a list of sources of information, a number of consonantal charts, a number of texts in various forms of Shona, comparative vocabularies of Shona dialects, reproductions of palatograph records, kymograph tracings, and lip-position photographs. Three useful maps to illustrate dialectal distribution in general, and of certain words and forms in particular come at the end, and a number of attractive photographs of various types of Shona speakers—a somewhat unusual but very pleasant feature in a work of this kind—are found scattered through the book. The volume is clearly and accurately printed—no small achievement in a production so full of strange and finicky symbols—in good type, on good paper, and is tastefully and strongly bound, and is a credit not only to the author and his publishers, but also to the typographical skill of the printers, Messrs, Stephen Austin and Sons.

The sections of the work devoted to a description of Shona phonesis are meticulous in their accuracy of observation and record : an occasional error may have crept in (e.g. §79, where the directions given for acquiring the pronunciation of the implosives appear to overlook the fact that *b* and *d* in *submit* and *goodness* are exploded, not imploded, and that no amount of "drawing out" will produce that lowering of the larynx which is the specific feature of the implosives), some minute variants may have escaped notice (e.g. the occurrence of *m* followed by slightly nasalised voiced prevelar fricative in Karanga as a variant of the normal Shona *m* followed by voiced velar nasal), some references to other languages may have been wrongly cited (Meinhof's *ki-vi* class appears in Herero as *oci-ovi*, not, as found in §383, as *oki-ovi* ; the West African implosives with velarised element are usually written *kp*, *gb*, not, as found in §77, *pk*, *bg*) ; misprints, surprisingly and happily rare, may account for *tumdu-dzi* instead of *tumbudzi* (§161) and for "*s > ts and v and b*" instead of "*s > ts and v > b*" (§103) ; but as a whole the work makes an impression of almost painful accuracy. It is no mean achievement, and one upon which the author has every right to look with great satisfaction, provided he remains fully conscious of two limitations to the method of observation and record : the first is that the number of sounds which the human vocal organs can produce with a surprising amount of standardisation, and the human ear can recognise with a surprising amount of consistency, is a good deal greater than the number of phonemes between which speakers of any one language recognise semantically or otherwise significant difference, so that the real value of recording non-significant differences is either very little or none at all, especially as the possibility of conveying any but a very approximate idea of the position and movement of the organs in regard to any but comparatively large differences is after all so limited : not even Prof. Doke's very full descriptions, his palatograms, his kymograph tracings, his lip-position photographs, can do much to take the place of actual hearing of the sound by anyone who wants to acquire more than a theoretical knowledge of it if it is a sound not fairly widely differentiated from other sounds. So the recording of such non-significant differences, while justified in the sense that all scientific enquiry for its own sake is justified, has little or no real value either for practical language-study (where the living voice supplants any written record) or for theoretical linguistics, since they are *ex hypothesi* non-significant. The second limitation, bound up with the first, is one of even more practical significance. The observation and recording, once and for all, of non-significant differences may be justified : the insistent repetition of record of such non-significant differences, involving continuous modification and multiplication of phonetic symbols, is

another matter. Already the number of symbols Prof. Doke finds it necessary to use is fairly great, already they are sufficiently complicated and wearying to read : yet both their number and their complexity, one feels sure, are only limited by the present limitations of Prof. Doke's ear and instruments : when his instruments grow even finer, when his ear grows even more razor-keen, they will increase in greatness of number and complexity of structure, and a saturation-point of eye and mind of the reader will be reached, when it will be positively impossible to see the phonetic wood for the vast number and insistent labelling of Prof. Doke's transcriptional trees, when the essential unity behind the members of an endophoneme in a single dialect, behind the members of a dia-phoneme stretching over a number of allied dialects, will be utterly masked by a vast number of intricate symbols, telling us all the time that there are differences, but not really capable of telling us just what those differences are, and utterly confusing eye and mind of even the most zealous and patient reader ; insisting upon differences which are not significant, and masking those resemblances which are. Is it presumptuous to suggest that Prof. Doke's scientific work would lose little, if anything, in significant accuracy, and would gain, in the eyes of some at least, a good deal in clearness and comprehensibility, if a slightly broader transcription were followed even in a non-practical orthography ?

But, whether Dr. Doke should have given us a broader transcription or not, attention must be drawn to one concession which the book does not make to the reader's legitimate needs, which might have been made : Dr. Doke follows the phonetic transcription of the *Association Phonétique Internationale*, which he has some right to expect phoneticians to be able to read without further ado. But he makes his own variations in it (he uses ν , formerly used by the A. P. I. for the voiced bilabial fricative, but now abandoned by them in favour of β , for the voiced bilabial fricative ; and β , now used by the A.P.I. for the voiced bilabial fricative, for the voiced denti-labial semi-vowel) and adds new symbols to it, which he cannot expect anyone to know ; and yet anyone reading the book needs to know at least roughly what these signs convey, from the earliest pages of the book onwards. A list at least of the signs which he uses differently from the A.P.I. together with his new signs, should have been included right at the beginning : indeed, one is surprised not to find it in Part I, Ch. III. §38, under the promising title *Orthography employed*.

The book is obviously addressed to the student of Bantu linguistics generally, and of Bantu phonetics in particular. Few non-Bantuists, and still fewer laymen can be expected to take it up, and those who do can be expected to make themselves pretty familiar with general and

Bantu phonetics beforehand. This being the case, it is a little difficult to see why sections like Chapter II of part I, and other sections of a more or less elementary nature like the first two pages of the chapter on Tone in Shona (Part V Ch. V) have been included, more especially as the book is otherwise so highly technical. The unprepared layman will want a great deal more introductory matter, and the Bantu linguist and the more or less well-prepared layman will perhaps feel a slight sense of irritation at having such elementary details put before them at this stage.

In one respect the book is a slight disappointment. After the brilliant work done by Dr. Doke on Zulu Tonetics in his *Phonetics of the Zulu language*, and after the work of Laman on Kongo, Tucker on Sotho, and other work of the same kind, the section on *Tone in Shona* would, one expects, have been a good deal fuller. No account is given of the intonation-class system, and none of functional intonation-changes, though the marking of intonation on many individual words in the book shows that the author had the raw material for it if he had desired to work that part of the subject up. It may be that this omission is deliberate, in which case one can only hope that Prof. Doke will give us this important sub-division of Shona phonetics at a later stage, in a manner as accurate and comprehensive as he has accustomed us to for his phonic analyses.

The criticisms of the book that have here been made, well-founded as the present reviewer believes them to be, do not blind him, and should not in the least blind any reader of this review, to the unrivalled importance of the work for the Shona field, and to the unassailable great merits of the book in most other ways; and it is upon this note of sincere appreciation that one would wish to close. Dr. Doke has, once more, deserved well of the republic of Bantu linguistics.

G. P. LESTRADE

Volkekundige Navorsing onder die Swazis. Deur P. J. Schoeman, B.A., Departement van Bantologie, Universiteit van Stellenbosch. *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, Jaargang IX, Reeks B, Afl. 3, April 1931). Nasionale Pers Beperk, Kaapstad. 23 blss.

Hierdie brosjure stel ons in besit van 'n reeks etnografiese gegewens omtrent die Swazi wat ons by die amper totale gemis aan etnografiese materiaal oor hierdie volk maar al te gretig aanneem. Dit bestaan uit nege afdelings, wat respektiewelik handel oor puberteitsgebruike by jonglinge, die essensie van die skaduwee, Eenbeen die Skepper, die

weerligvoël, reenseremonies, werkverdeling en tydverdryf, dood en begrafnis, voorvadergeeste, stamwette. Dit spreek vanself dat by die behandeling van so 'n menigvuldige en uiteenlopende serie onderwerpe in die klein bestek van die boekie, g'n een feitlik tot sy volle reg gekom het nie, en dat sommige bepaald skraal daaraf gekom het : so beslaan die seksie oor *Stamwette* karig anderhalwe bladsy, die oor die skaduweessens nie eers 'n halwe bladsy nie. Dit was miskien beter gewees as Mnr. Schoeman ons meer oor minder kon gegee het, hoewel ons tog weer gedeeltelik aan die ander kant bly moet wees dat hy ons minder oor meer het aangebied. Nou weet ons dat sekere verskynsels by die Swazi te vind is, en kan òf Mnr. Schoeman self, òf 'n ander aan die hand van sy leiddraad, 'n omvattender studie maak van die verskynsels as totnogtoe aan ons bekend is. Tog kon ons wens dat die gegewe stof iets sorgvuldiger bewerk was. Daar is bv. die ortografie van die Swazi woorde en sinne wat voorkom : daarvan moes ons 'n betere transkripsie gehad het, bv. soiets as die van Engelbrecht in sy studie oor die Swazi huweliksgebruike of in sy Swazi-tekste. Schoeman se ortografie maak g'n verskil tussen geaspireerde ekspllosiewe en ekspllosiewe met ejeksie nie, gee maar ongereeld die homorganiese affrikasie van die alveolaar-ekspllosiewe weer, maak g'n melding nie van die deur Engelbrecht gekonstateerde labiale affrikasie van die alveolaar-ekspllosiewe, laat dikwels die beginvokaal van die prefiks weg, ens. Dit is bietjie bevreemdend van iemand wat, soas hyself sê, Swazi ewegoed as Afrikaans verstaan.

Die metode van weergee van die versamelde gegewens kon seker ook iets sorgvuldiger gewees het. Schoeman volg nl. sy eie variant van 'n soort gemengde teksmetode en omwerk-metode, d.w.s. hy gee nie 'n vlotte deur sy segsmanne gedikteerde teks bv. in Swazi en/of in Afrikaans nie, en gee ook nie 'n deur homself aan die hand van die gegewens opgestelde beskrywing nie ; in plaas daarvan kry ons materiaal, hoofsaaklik in Afrikaans geredigeer—waarvan ons waarskynlik moet aanneem dat dit 'n min of meer lettergetroue weergawe is van oorspronklik in Swazi vervatte gegewens—maar wat deurspek is met Swazi sinne—wat dan weer, nie altyd letterlik of sonder verklaring of kommentaar nie, in Afrikaans vertaal word—en wat vergesel gaan van verklarings of kommentaar wat sonder baie twyfel van die skrywer, en nie van sy segsman nie, afstam. Gevolglik kry ons 'n verhaal wat, buiten dat dit hakerig en moeilik lees, ons somtyds in twyfel laat of die gegewens, verklarings of kommentaar van die segsman of van die skrywer afstam. Hierdie gebrek kon by betere redaksie sonder baie moeite vermy geword het wat die teks self aangaan. Mens voel egter dat die fout tog nog bietjie dieper lê as net in redaksie : die metode self is nie

betroubaar nie. Die letterlike teksmetode, met vertaling en dan desnoods met verklarings en kommentaar, of die omwerk-metode, waarby die etnograaf homself deur segsmanne in besit stel van die feite en dan aan die hand van die kennis 'n eiehandige beskrywing van die materiaal opstel, sou hier beter resultate gelever het.

By erkenning van die werkie se foute en tekortkomings, moet ons nie blind wees nie vir sy goeie punte en daadwerklike verdienste. Mnr. Schoeman het baanbrekende werk gedoen in 'n tot dusver onaangeroerde veld: hy het ons interessante en waardevolle gegewens aangebied, en 'n goeie leidraad vir toekomstige meer uitgebreide werk in dieselfde veld gegee, en ons moet hom 'n ruime mate van lof toeswaai en hom bedank vir hierdie stuk werk wat hy gedoen het.

G. P. LESTRADE.

A History of South Africa for Native Schools, by P. A. W. Cook. Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1932, 114 pp. 2/6.

This is a very welcome outline of South African History attractively and simply written for Native children. It deals briefly with the Bushmen and Hottentots, the coming of the Bantu, a contrast of the mode of life of the Europeans with that of the Bantu, the arrival of the Europeans, the early history of their occupation, and the development of South Africa down to 1930. It then briefly, too briefly it seems, gives some historical data regarding the Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho and Ndebele peoples, with some facts regarding the Indian and Coloured communities. The author has had a difficult task, in view of the racial and political differences of today, in dealing with many of the problems. He has used considerable tact throughout, but we feel that some of the problems of employment, land tenure and franchise might have been stated more clearly, and a little more attempt made to visualise the Bantu point of view on these matters. Maybe a further edition, when this little book has been tried out, will include more detail of Bantu history and even more ethnological description of the various types which go to make up South Africa.

C.M.D.

Umsebenzi woMoya Oyingcwele, by Mrs. J. Penn-Lewis, trans. by J. H. Soga, 30 pp. (Lovedale).

This translation of Mrs. Penn-Lewis's well-known pamphlet is made available for free distribution among Xhosa readers by the generosity of the Religious Tract Society, London.

C.M.D.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

This number of Bantu Studies contains contributions from three members of the University of the Witwatersrand dealing with different aspects of the Korana Hottentots of the Western Transvaal. Professor L. F. Maingard, Head of the Department of French and Romance Philology, has dealt with the History, Customs and Language ; his son, J. F. Maingard, from the Medical School, has dealt with the Physical Characteristics of the people ; while Professor P. R. Kirby, Head of the Department of Music, has contributed a section dealing with his special subject. The production of such a number as this well illustrates the value of team work in field research. Professor Kirby is responsible for the photographs, and Mr. S. P. Jackson, Lecturer in the Department of Geography, prepared the map. The spelling *Korana* has been retained throughout as the most convenient one for English readers.

The following abbreviations have been used in footnotes in the various articles :—

Arbousset and Daumas=Relation d'un voyage, etc. (Paris, 1842).

B.C.=Report of the Bloemhof Commission.

B.M.B. or B.M.J.=Berliner Missions Berichte or Jahresberichte.

Bas. Rec.=Basutoland Records (3 volumes, Cape Town, 1883).

Broadbent=A Narrative of the first introduction of Christianity among the Barolong (London 1865).

Burchell=Travels in the interior of South Africa (London 1822).

Campbell, 1813=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (1st journey, London, 1813).

Campbell, 1820=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (2nd journey, 2 volumes, London 1820).

G.M.=Godée-Molesbergen, Reizen in Zuid-Afrika (3 volumes, 'S-Gravenhage, 1916),

Md. or Moodie=The Record (Cape Town 1838).

R.W.M.M.S.=Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

W.M.N.=Wesleyan Missionary Notices.

THE CORANNA

Fast by his wild resounding river
The listless Coran lingers ever ;
Still drives his heifers forth to feed,
Soothed by the Gorrah's humming reed ;
A rover still unchecked will range,
As humour calls or seasons change ;
His tents of mats and leathern gear
Are packed upon the patient steer.
'Mid all his wanderings hating toil,
He never tills the stubborn soil ;
But on the milky dams relies,
And what spontaneous earth supplies. ~
Should some long parching droughts prevail
And milk and bulbs and locusts fail,
He lays him down to sleep away
In languid trance the weary day ;
Oft as he feels gaunt hunger's stound, ~
Still tightening famine's girdle round ;
Lulled by the sound of the Gareep,
Beneath the willows murmuring deep ;
Till thunder-clouds surcharged with rain
Pour o'erdue o'er the panting plain,
And call the famished dreamer from his trance,
To feed on milk and game, and wake the moonlight dance.

THOMAS PRINGLE.

(1828.)

STUDIES IN KORANA HISTORY, CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE

BY PROFESSOR L. F. MAINGARD, M.A., D.LIT.

I. THE PROBLEMS—A GLIMPSE INTO THE PRESENT-DAY LIFE OF THE KORANA

The Korana are a branch of the Hottentot race. They are a very interesting people from many points of view and they present a field of study still fresh and as yet imperfectly explored. To the historian, the mystery of their origin is still a fascinating problem, for they may still perpetuate the original Hottentot tribes who lived at the Cape when it was discovered by the Portuguese. To the physical anthropologist there is much yet to learn respecting their relationship with the rest of their Hottentot brethren, and indeed, with the other races of South Africa. The social anthropologist and the ethnographer are arrested by the remnants of the ancient customs of a tribe which was for a long time, even with its European contacts, a genuinely pastoral one, and by the gradual transformation and even the disappearance of those ancient customs and their changed mode of life. The strange clicks, the tones and the peculiar structure of their language, are another aspect of this people, and one that, because of its unique position in the midst of the Bantu and Bush languages, has still many unsolved problems.

The Korana live, in the present century, in small groups scattered widely over the central portions of the Union. They are a vanishing race. In the middle of last century their numbers were estimated by competent authorities at 20,000, and, in spite of the absence of accurate statistical data for the present day, it does not appear that more than 1000 exist now. If any attempt is to be made to solve the problems that confront the student to-day, it is imperative to go into the field and collect as much of the fast-disappearing fragments of their customs and traditions and language as may be garnered before it is too late.

Many people—authors, and reliable authors,—have asserted that “the Korana is extinct.” I made it my business to verify their statements. My historical inquisitiveness and my researches into the Africana

of the Gubbins Collection at the University and of the Municipal Library of Johannesburg, had convinced me that that could not be the case. Thanks to the kind assistance of my friends, Rev. H. R. Higgs and Mr. C. Lefevre, of Bloemhof, and I must also add, thanks to the good offices of Rev. John Motseleng, the Native minister at Bloemhof, I was able to discover the remnants of the once numerous tribe—the Links Korana—at Bloemhof, which I visited in December 1931, and February 1932.

My knowledge of their language created rapid contact with them. I found in the location about twenty-five of them—all that remains apart from a few stray farm hands in the district and perhaps also on the Free State side of the Vaal River, living their lives apart from the Bechuana who surround them, and preserving the ancient language of their forefathers. But the pastoral life over the vast veld, the countless flocks and herds, exist no more; their old customs, because of the influence of civilisation and of Christianity, have gone.

I tried to pick up the broken threads of their old tradition and of their former culture. The old men helped me. There was *Tabab*, a descendant of the old chieftain stock, once a fighter in the battle of Mamusa (1885) a man of about seventy or eighty; *Teteb*, the nephew of the old chiefs of the Links, a slightly younger man; *Saul van Eck*, the son of *Willem*, the Catechist of Rev. Brune of the Saron Mission Station, nearly as old as *Tabab*; *Matiti*, with wrinkled face and bent double with old age and nearly, if not over 100; *Juli*, still older, a wizened old figure of a man, silent through age, and old *Daob*. This last of the old generation was recounting his memories and mentioned "Boomplaats." That word gave me a clue to his age. It is, as is well known, the name of a battle fought in 1848 between Andries Pretorius and the English. *Daob* said he was a grown-up man at Thaba 'Nchu, a Mission Station a short distance east of Bloemfontein, when he saw the Boers of Pretorius rushing through after their defeat. If we take twenty years, as a minimum, to mean the age of "a grown-up man," then he would be at least 104, and probably much more, for he called *Matiti* "a boy." His appearance did not belie his great age. He was nothing but skin and bone, very tall and slightly bent, blind, but extraordinarily active physically and mentally. His speech was quick and his memory amazing. An expert musician, he was of great help to my colleague, Professor Kirby, who accompanied me on my second trip. Such was the group of old men, three of them centenarians, who are now the repositories of the tribal lore of the Links and of their ancient traditions.

The old women, *Kheis*, the wife of *Tabab*, a stately dame, of the royal lineage of Mamusa, *Go'tis* and *Meis*, two very old, wrinkled

specimens of their sex, and *Meis's* younger, very much younger sister, *Iis* were of great use in reviving the sometimes failing memories of their menfolk, in giving full details of the */habab* ceremony and in playing the musical instruments peculiar to their sex.

The younger generations included *!Gobo* ~~*xa*~~ (*Piet Kraal*, 52), *Tsi:ta*, the son of *Teteb*; *!Kutsi*, a man of mixed Griqua and Kora descent, the son-in-law of old *Tabab*; his wife, *Oreas* and *Ebis* her sister; *!gasibe*, the twenty-two year-old daughter of *Iis*, and *Kwoakwalis*, *!Kutsi* and *Piet Kraal* have a large family of young sons and daughters.

Both *Tsi:ta* and *!Kutsi* work for very small wages in town. The old men, so the Magistrate of Bloemhof informed me, have small pensions. They seem very poor. In fact, it is a wonder to me how they live, in the location, when they have to pay small rentals to the Village Management Committee for the site on which their mud brick little "pandokkies" stand. They seem to feel unhappy in that restricted space. For a number of years they tried hard to regain possession of the Saltpan. *Teteb* showed me a mass of correspondence in which *Hermanus Links*, their late chief, engaged with a Kimberley lawyer for that purpose. Even a petition was sent to the Governor at the Cape. But in vain.

The older women seemed fairly busy with their household duties, cooking the scant family meal in modern iron pots, which have replaced the old clay *su:di*, on the smoky wood fires outside. They no longer have to milk the cows as their ancestors did when they came home in the evening; nor do the old men, as in the days of their youth, spend their time in hunting and seeking new pastures for their cattle and sheep. Unable to adapt themselves to the new ways of life, and too old to work, they seem to lead an aimless life, reminding one of Tennyson's Lotus Eaters,

"Surely, surely, slumber is more sweet than toil. . . .

"Oh! rest, ye brother mariners, ye will not wander more."

* * * * *

I searched the district for more Korana. There is a very small number living at Christiana. I motored to Schweizer Reneke—the old *Mamusa*,—where I discovered a very old man, *Xras*, who had almost forgotten his language, his son and wife and a small family; and another very old man, *Sele:ki*, who told me about the battle between David Massow and the Dutch in 1885. They vaguely said that there might be a few stray Korana working on the farms in the neighbourhood. At Wolmaranstad which I visited this last May, through the kindness of Mr. Thomas S.

Leask, I discovered !*Korakje* at Witpoort. He informed me that he was the only one of his kind living in the neighbourhood. He appeared to be a man of between forty to fifty and spoke his language still fairly fluently.

At Shepperd Island, some ten miles on the Vaal River, above Bloemhof, I met Abraham Links, a young fellow of about twenty, closely related to the Korana at the location. He motioned to Verlaaten Kraal to the east, where he said there were a couple of Korana women, with a few children. I could find no more Korana. Truly, a race that has nearly disappeared.

II. THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGINS

In the Cape Town of the early Dutch settlement, and especially in official quarters, there had been a great deal of curiosity and interest about the vast expanse of the unknown North, an interest and curiosity awakened by the fabulous tales of the wealth and culture of the far-famed Monomatapa and of the great Northern river, which had fallen from the lips of old Herry, the fascinating Eva and other Hottentots in the entourage of Van Riebeeck, and quickened by the expeditions into Namaqualand and further north. Nothing worth discovering had been found, but the official explorers of the XVIIIth century—Hop, Marais and Roos, etc.,—had succeeded in reaching the lower Orange River and penetrating, beyond it, into the country of the Great Namaqua.

It was, however, not until 1779 that the veil was lifted from the still mysterious regions of the Upper Orange River and the life of the unsuspected Korana tribes in those remote districts disclosed to Baron Joachim van Plettenberg by Heinrich Jacob Wikar, who had “absented” himself from his post of scribe in the Company’s service and who had for two years wandered along the banks of the Great River. He had travelled in 1778 and 1779 as far as what is probably the modern Prieska, and had come into contact with the Kuringais and had learnt of the existence further east of the Kei or Great Korana, bounded towards the north by the marvellous Briqua or, as we call them nowadays, the Bechuana.

How came these Hottentots to be located there? Had they wandered from the centre of the African Continent through the vast and waterless Kalahari or along its more fertile borders as far as the Orange River, in prehistoric times, or had they migrated from the south, break-

ing away from the main body of the Hottentots that had settled on the west and south coasts of South Africa? Wikar, alert observer though he was, does not seem to have troubled himself with these questions, for he records no evidence that might have solved them.

Of the subsequent travellers of the early times who visited the Korana--Truter and Somerville (1801), with their Secretary Borchers, Lichtenstein (1805), show the same lack of curiosity as Wikar. Even the all-observing and accurate Burchell, (1811-2), is silent on this problem. We must come down to Rev. Campbell, of the London Missionary Society, to find a passing and indirect reference to our questions. He records the words of Cornelius Kok, the Bastard leader, who was in an exceptional position to know, as he came from the Western Province and Namaqualand, that "he had never heard of individuals of that nation living within the limits of the Colony."¹

As we might expect, we can find no documentary evidence here. But the Korana themselves, like the other Native tribes of South Africa, have preserved traditions on the subject of their original home, which have been recorded for us by the early travellers and missionaries, or are to be unearthed from the Blue Books or other official publications. But it is well to be on our guard against accepting traditions, thus collected, wholesale and without due criticism, if we are to found definite conclusions on the evidence they may afford. First, the unreliability of popular traditions in matters of detail is notorious: a succession of distinct and separate historical events are found telescoped into a shorter series, thus abolishing the adequate notion of time; deeds performed by a multitude of heroes are ascribed to one commanding personality; the strict historic sequence of events is inverted; a more serious handicap--the Native mind has no conception of our calendar dates or of the stricter divisions of time. He does not count in years, but by generations, generally taken to be equal to thirty or twenty-five years by European interpreters. These are some of the wellknown vagaries of popular tradition.

In the second place, in the very early times the hasty traveller collected what he could and, not being necessarily trained in the stricter methods of research, was not always too critical. Leading questions to Natives always produce the desired answer and it is easy to overlay Native tradition with false colours, if the collector is unwary. Reliance on interpreters, where ignorance of the Native language makes it necessary, may be another source of the perversion of the evidence. All these

¹ Campbell, 1820. II. p. 260.

difficulties had to be pointed out, before coming to a statement and an analysis of the traditions that concern us here.

One body of traditions on the origin of the Korana contains a few discordant elements, but agrees in the main, namely that of the Taaibosch tribe, from which we possess three versions, one from Hanto, chief of the Umpukani Korana, and two—separated by a year's distance—from Massow Rijt Taaibosch, the great chief of the Mamusa branch.

Hanto was one of the original Korana of the Great Orange River. He had come from Ramah, on the Orange River, with his tribe, first to Taungs, then to Platberg, and in the company of the Barolong of Moroko and the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell, had migrated finally to Umpukani, near Thaba 'Nchu in the Free State. There, in April 1836, Arbousset and Daumas, of the "Missions Evangéliques de Paris," found him and used him as their principal informant, for, being a chief, he was the principal repository of the historical lore of his tribe, and as an intelligent man, he could give them a clear account. This was the story :

Kora, the ancestral chief of the tribe, was the origin of the name *Korana*. He had lived, with his tribe, about eight generations ago, in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and had ceded to the first white settlers, such portion of his territory "as could be covered by a skin cut into riems." His son, Eikomo, who succeeded him, (for *Kora* died young), was so hard pressed by the intrusion of more colonists, that he had to retreat to the Brak River (presumably the tributary of that name which flows from the S.E. into the Orange River). There he met a tribe of Bushmen from whom he obtained, by treaty, the lands around Griqua-Town.²

In February 1869—thirty-three years after—at a gathering of the Native tribes of the Western Transvaal summoned at Witgatboom near Christiana by President M. W. Pretorius, Massow Rijt Taaibosch gave his version of the coming of the Korana.³ He was then the Grand Old Man of his nation, being over 100 years of age, according to his own testimony, and had therefore had the opportunity of hearing the talk of the older generations, in whose minds the memory of the old deeds of the tribe were still fresh, as they were nearer the events they were relating. Further, the telling of the story is authenticated by the judicial character

² Arbousset and Daumas, p. 49-50.

³ The second version is to be found in *Lindley-Adamantia*, p. 10-12. It will not be given here, as it is of minor importance.

of the occasion—a judicial commission, in the presence of an assembly of Native chiefs who were all allowed freely to give their evidence. Thus the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, added to the picturesqueness of the details and the almost inaccessible nature of the documents in which they are imbedded (the Bloemhof Commission Blue Book exists in only a few printed copies), make it well worth quoting in full the very words of the old Korana chief: “Massow says, he came from Cape Town; that the white people had come there from beyond the sea, and had asked for a small piece of ground. Our captain was called Khora. The white men asked for a piece of ground of the size of an oxhide, which they cut to riems. Then they told the Hottentots to pull out the riems, the end of which they fastened to a cannon, saying they (the Hottentots) might keep the copper if they did draw it away. When the Hottentots did pull on, the Whites fired the cannon, thereby killing the men that were drawing it. They thought they were struck by lightning. They then fled to Hottentots’ Holland Mountain and thence we dispersed. Hottentot and Koranna are the children of one father. The Hottentots remained there and the Korannas came up to this side. The Hottentots then asked the Korannas to re-unite, but they would not. The Hottentots then sent their women to be married to the Korannas, but the latter would not do so. The Hottentots are the elder. The Korannas went on to this side of Nieuwveld, Cape Colony, near the Spitzkop, called T’Koup. Then they came below Great River and having crossed the drift called Kornaar (or Zanddrift).”⁴

Here are seemingly no discrepancies, for the geographical data can easily be reconciled, in fact, in this respect, the two versions supplement each other,—for the route followed by the “trek” would then be from Cape Town to the Ghousep (that is the beginning of the Karoo), through the Nieuwveld range of mountains, then to Spitzkop, then up the course of the Great Brak River and thus to the south banks of the Orange River at Sanddrift. It would then seem that this part of the early history of the Korana is decisively settled, and for all time.

But consider, however, yet another version, that collected by Rev. John Edwards, who was fluent in Dutch, the second language of the Korana, who had lived among them as a missionary and had their sympathy and knew the selfsame Hanto whom he calls by his Dutch name of Jan Kaptein or Jan Taaibosch,⁵ and from whom he most probably learnt that “the Korana came originally from Namaqualand

⁴ B. C. p. 290.

⁵ See Appendix on Genealogical lists.

.... They emigrated to this country under a leader or chief named Kora ; hence the people were called Koranas."⁶

There is yet a further tradition current this time among the Springbok tribe, which resided then at the Berlin Missionary Station of Pniel, near Kimberley. It has been reported by Rev. Meyfarth, who was then in charge of the station : " The oldest Korana now living are in complete agreement in relating that their fathers have come from the south along the sea coast from the Colony " and he adds what seems his inference : " the Korana people probably lived in the west or north-west of the present Cape Colony, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present-day stations of Ebenezer and Kommagas." ⁷ Here we find embodied in these two versions, a line of migration entirely different from that vouched for by Hanto and Massow—namely, along the western coastline, for it may be taken that the Namaqualand of Rev. Edwards corresponds to the Little Namaqualand of Brother Meyfarth. There are then, not one but two possible routes along which these migrations could have taken place.

But is there any evidence of the presence of the Korana in Cape Town at the time of the arrival of the first White settlers, as apart from the Korana traditions ? If they were ever there in those days, there should be ample reference to them in the early records of the Portuguese or the Dutch. For our purpose, the accounts of the Portuguese can be neglected, as their visits on the coast of South Africa were occasional, merely to obtain refreshments, and without any intention of permanent colonisation. Besides, they do not name any Hottentot tribes by tribal name and the same may be said of the English travellers like Herbert.

But it is a matter of common history that the first definite settlement at the Cape was made by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, and his *Dagverhaal* containing almost daily references to his relations with the various Hottentot tribes : the *Gorinhaiquas* or the Caepman, the *Gorachokuva*, or tobacco thieves, and the *Cochoquas*, or the Saldanhars, who lived in his immediate neighbourhood.⁸ Of these, Stow has asserted that the *Gorachokuva*, whose chief was *Goro* or *Choro*, according to the spelling of the *Dagverhaal*, are the ancestors of the modern Korana, on what seems to be somewhat slender grounds. He seems to have been content with drawing his information from Arbousset, corroborating it with vague

⁶ *Fifty years in South Africa*, p. 110.

⁷ B. M. B. 1850, p. 212.

⁸ For a full discussion, see my study "The Lost Tribes of the Cape," *S.A. Journal of Science*, 1931, p. 489 ff.

stories from the missionary Kallenberg and the still vaguer evidence of Hendrik de Katse (presumably a Korana of the Cat tribe), without any attempt to examine critically this or other available evidence.⁹

It is certainly possible that the *Chora* of *Chora-choqua* may phonetically represent *!kora*, as the early Dutch transcribers had no symbols for clicks. The *-na* in *Kora-na* is merely the common plural ending in Hottentot and the *-choqua* may be explained as *khwekwa*, the plural of *khweb*, thus *Chorachoqua* meaning the "men of *!kora*,"—an explanation strengthened by old Herry's division of the word in his list of tribes given to van Riebeeck, in which the name appears as *Gora choqua* or *Gora chauna*.¹⁰

Two further arguments which could not have been adduced by Stow may be referred to here. The one is a piece of evidence derived from Wikar, who mentions three Korana tribes,—the *Kuringais* (or "Hoogekraal"), and the *Husingais*, forming the "small" Korana group and the *Kei* or Great *Korana*, as distinct from the rest of the Orange River Hottentots or *Eyniqua*. Now these *Kuringais* (Korana: *!kuriŋ //ais*, the "Hoogstander" to give them their latter-day Afrikaans name, the "proud people") might well be equated with the *Gorinhaiqua* (= *!Kuriŋ //aikwa*) or Capeman of the *Dagverhaal*, who have just been referred to and who are always mentioned as in close alliance with the *Gorachoqua*, and in fact the two tribes are repeatedly bracketed together as Capman and tobacco thieves in the later Journals of the Governors.¹¹ It would seem that the existence of these two tribes on the Orange River in 1778 and 1779 continues a state of things which had obtained in the early Dutch days.

The other argument is that of the similarity of the Korana and the Cape dialects of Hottentot in possessing together certain phonetic peculiarities and common words, the details of which will be discussed in the linguistic section of the present study, and which definitely constitute these two as a homogeneous linguistic group as against the Nama dialect. These facts enable us to conclude that the Cape and the Korana sections broke up at a period subsequent to the separation of the Nama tribes from the main body of the Hottentot nation.

In the light of this identification, we may now turn once again to the Native traditions, in order to examine their full implications.

⁹ For an examination of Stow's argument, see *ibid*, p. 502-503.

¹⁰ *Dagverhaal*, II. p. 279. Nov. 15, 1657.

¹¹ Moodie I. *passim*.

1. The date given by *Hanto* involves inherent difficulties. Starting from 1836,—the year in which the information was obtained—the eight generations, each of a minimum of twenty-five years, carry us back to 1636-1661, as the first generation, so that van Riebeeck's landing (1652) would fall within it. The "trek" of *Eikomo* would be approximately in the period 1661-1686 and the first settlement of the Korana at Griquatown somewhere about 1686,—two impossible dates, as there is distinct evidence that the *Chorachoqua* and the *Goringhaiqua* (or alternatively the Tobacco Thieves and the Caepmans) were living at the Cape as late as 1690.¹²

2. Again, the genealogical lists given by *Hanto* and by *Massow Rijt Taai Bosch* are capable of a quite different interpretation than that given by Arbousset and Stow, and a new one will be attempted elsewhere in this study, which would undoubtedly upset the period of eight generations.¹³

3. There is nowhere in the official documents any confirmation of the "riem" episode which may, however, be dismissed here as a mere embellishment. There was, however, an actual agreement dated April 19th, 1672, by which Schacher, the chief of the *Goringhaiquas* ceded to the Dutch East India Company the tract of land comprising the Cape Peninsula. This date would fall within the first generation, while the facts actually recorded shew not *Kora* or *Eikomo* but *Schacher* as responsible for the cession.¹⁴

4. The official records make no mention of the "trek" of the *Gorachoguas*, but before the beginning of the 18th Century, however, it was the official practice of the Government Secretariat to designate the Hottentots no longer by their tribal name but by the Dutch names of their chiefs.¹⁵

5. There is a last tradition which entirely traverses all those of which we have spoken already. In 1858 the Rev Carl Frederick Wuras collected from a very old Kora "near 100 years of age. . . a tradition that in ancient times the whole nation of Hottentots lived close together along the banks of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Their chief settlement called "*Chei am 'aub*" was not far from the junction of the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. But in consequence of a great quarrel which arose amongst

¹² Moodie I. 445.

¹³ See genealogical lists further on.

¹⁴ Md. I. p. 318.

¹⁵ See "The Lost Tribes of the Cape," p. 498-499.

them, they divided. One part of their nation went in the direction of Cape Town and settled there; another part went down the Orange River, and the Korana, the greatest and richest tribe, remained."¹⁶

This is very important testimony, because Rev. Wuras had lived among the Korana of the "Right Hand" tribe at Bethany for twenty-two years (1836-58). He had been the chief missionary at that Berlin Missionary Station. He had lived in close sympathy with them and had earned their confidence, not only by speaking their own Korana language fluently, but by many acts of kindness and of help in the defence of their land. He was in a better position than any man to obtain the correct information. His informant—unfortunately nameless—had been born about 1758, that is, if there had been a great "trek" from the Cape in the early 18th century, the memory of it would still have been alive among the generation preceding him and there might conceivably have been some of the original trekkers still surviving in his early boyhood to tell him the tale. At any rate, his testimony dates as far back as that of Massow Rijt Taaibosch.

In the welter of confusion that springs from all these traditions,—confusion of dates, confusion of geographical routes, confusion of personalities involved,—it was very difficult to come to any definite conclusion, and I thought that, by appealing to yet another Korana tribe, the "Links" or "Left Hand" tribe, I could clear up all these doubts and difficulties. Therefore, with anxious anticipation, I questioned the oldest among them, not with leading questions, for I would have had my answer that they came from Cape Town, but carefully and picking my way through all their falterings and lapses of memory, I questioned again and again. But in vain, for *Matiti*, *Teteb*, *Tabab*, all gave the same answer, that they came "from the quarter of the rising sun and then from the quarter of the setting sun, always along the sea-shore, until they reached the Great River which they followed up."

Indeed, we may sympathise with Peter Kolb, the good school-master of Aysch, when, in his third letter of the second part of his *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, etc., sorely pressing his memory as to where the *Chorachoquas* had gone,¹⁷ he laments over the loss of his manuscripts. Had we possessed this information, our difficulty,—the exact location of the Korana in beginning of the 18th century—might have been solved.

¹⁶ *Bantu Studies*, Vol. iii. p. 290.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 391. col. a [1st. German edition—1719.]

It may, however, be that the Korana tribes trickled on to the Orange River in small sections and that different tribes took different routes. In any case one definite conclusion emerges from a review of this mass of conflicting evidence, that, whether the Korana migrated from the Cape to the Orange River or from the Orange River to the Cape, the essential identity of the tribes cannot be a matter of doubt and that there exists between these two groups a closer relationship than between either of them and the Nama.

III. EARLY HISTORY OF THE KORANA

Those who are satisfied with Stow, to conclude, on the evidence adduced in the previous section, that the Korana were living at the Cape in the early days of the Dutch occupation, will turn naturally to the standard works of Theal, Walker and others for this early part of the history of South Africa. For those, on the other hand, who still maintain that the evidence is too slender or too conflicting to come to any definite conclusion, the history of that branch of the Hottentot nation must begin with their discovery on the Orange River.

On the very threshold of their history, there is a tradition of a great fight among the Korana and the Barolong. The old chief Massow has given a very circumstantial account of this great struggle at the Witgatboom meeting in February 1869: "Thereupon Thow, who lived at Touns, made up a commando against the Korannas. When his commando arrived at the outposts of the Korannas, some people said it was a pleasure trip, others that it was a commando. The Korannas were at the other side of the Great River, and made up their mind to hand their slaughter sheep to Thow in token of friendliness. Then the Kafirs broke their assegais and concealed them under their karrosses. They asked the Korannas who their captain was. The Korannas then went through the river to the Kafirs. They were the great-grandfathers of Massow and Gert Links. When they were there, the Kafirs stabbed Massow's great-grandfather. The Korannas fled through the river, for they were unarmed. Massow's great-grandfather died in the river from the wounds he received. Gert Links's great-grandfather escaped. The Koranna women brought bows and arrows to the men, who took them. The whole of the Kafirs that pursued the Korannas were shot down in the river. Thow was not killed. He fled with his people, and they were scattered about. The Korannas pursued the Kafirs, and almost exterminated them altogether. But Thow survived. Thereupon the Koran-

nas made up a commando against Thow, and fought them at his werf and killed many of them. The Kafirs desired to know what it was that killed a man and looked like a thorn. The Koranna commando returned and Thow subsequently fell sick and died, whereupon the Korannas again made up a commando and the Kafirs resolved to escape to Sitlagollo, south of Malopo. This is the spot where the Transvaal commando fought against Monsheoa in 1852. At that time the Batlapins and Barolongs did not live together. The Korannas then took Touns and the land of Thow, who was the great chief of the Kafirs.”*

Another shorter version which Massow himself repeated in a document of November 1870,¹ is substantially the same. It, however, contains one or two important variants. Klaarwater, the present Griquatown, is the scene of *Tau's* treachery, and not the Orange River, which apparently the Korana had already crossed in this version. A more serious discrepancy is that here it is Massow's grandfather and not his great-grandfather who is murdered. The place of the next encounters between Korana and Barolong, is, more precisely, Taungs itself where, we are told, four battles were fought before *Tau* died and before the Barolong were driven to Setlagoli.

If the genealogies given by McKenzie² and by Molema³ are to be trusted,—and they were confirmed by the deposition of Mooi at the Bloemhof Commission,⁴ in respect of the number of three generations from *Tau* to Sifonello, the date of whose death is known to be 1829,—*Tau* reigned some time in the middle of the 18th century, and that would place the battle between him and the Korana before 1750.

There is, however, no trace of these wars in the first European historian of the Korana, J. H. Wikar.⁵ He had been among the Korana in the second half of the 18th century, in 1778-9, and he gives a very detailed picture of the Hottentot communities and of their activities on the Orange River. There it runs through miles of desolate country, and a desert of red sand extends right up to its banks. Beyond the Great Falls, between Kakamas and Upington,—a distance of 36 miles—there is a broad stretch of the river about two miles in width, where the water runs in innumerable channels, encircling islands large and small, over-

*B. C. p. 290.

¹ Lindley-Adamantia, p. 10-11.

² McKenzie, *Austral Africa*. I. p. 56.

³ Molema. *The Bantu*, p. 48.

⁴ B. C. p. 136.

⁵ G. M. II. p. 78-138.

grown with thick, and in some places, impenetrable bush, with a fringe of over-hanging willow trees on the water's edge. In these islands were the homes of the "Eynikoa" or River Folk, the "Namnykoa," the "Kaukoa," the "Aukokoa," stretching from island to island in six kraals of ninety-six huts altogether, that is, from 400 to 500 inhabitants, with large flocks of sheep and many cattle.

Beyond Upington, at the point where the river bends in a south-easterly direction, were the "Gysikoa," a mixed race of "Brikwa" (Bechuana) and Hottentots with the typical appearance of the Bantu, tall and blacker than the latter, and who looked upon themselves as Bechuana although they spoke both SeChwana and Korana. Thus far Wikar had not met the real Korana whom he distinguishes carefully from the first two groups. Approximately near the modern Kheis, he found the first of them, the Kouringais, with their forty-nine huts lying in a beautiful valley, under their chief, Soenop.⁶ Then came the Husinghais, a very strong tribe rich in cattle.⁷ Here ended Wikar's personal knowledge. As to the great or "Kay Korakkoa," he had heard of them, of their power, of their six large kraals and of their situation, extending as far as where the Orange River splits into two branches, "like the fingers of the two hands," that is, where the Vaal joins it.

This last piece of information definitely shows that the *Kei !Korana*, who shall be met later as the Taaibosch tribe, had not yet in 1779 migrated further north, nor could they have been then as in later years in occupation of Taungs. One other point supports the view that there had not been as yet any decisive victory of the Korana tribes over the Barolong. Wikar tells us of the inferiority of the Bechuana as fighters, armed as they were merely with assegais. The Hottentots with their bows and arrows, would have got the better of them, were it not for their fear of Bechuana witchcraft. Wikar also puts on record that, in a cattle-stealing foray, the forefathers of the Korana had been bewitched and killed to a man by the assegais of the Bechuana.⁸

Thus it is clear that some time before Wikar's visit, the Hottentots had had a fight with the Bechuana, but the rest of the story renders improbable the alleged victory over *Tau*, or any victory at all over the Barolong in the early days of the Korana on the Orange River.

Wikar also stresses the peaceful relations of the Korana and the Bechuana in his time. Annually, the Bechuana came down from their

⁶ G. M. II. p. 126.

⁷ G. M. II. p. 128.

⁸ G. M. II. p. 122.

country four days further north to the tribes living on the River to barter their wares, "pots, spoons, assegais, ornaments, etc." They had even a fixed tariff, according to which they exchanged these commodities for the cattle of the Hottentots,—a fact which proves that the practice was of long standing.⁹

At a later date, probably a decade after Wikar's visit, the two races do not seem to have enjoyed the same amity. About 1790 there was a series of petty wars and a good deal of cattle stealing. The Batlaping, the southernmost of the Bechuana tribes, suffered almost complete ruin. They were living then on the banks of the Nokanna, a northern tributary of the Orange River, which it meets at Kheis, and the adjoining Langebergen, the southernmost point reached by any of the Bechuana tribes, and from this part of the country were they driven by the attacks of the Korana as far north as Kuruman, which was to become their principal centre for many years after.¹⁰

It is not certain whether these wars had any connection with Jan Bloem. A Prussian by birth and a "desperado," as he has been aptly called, he had to flee the country, in the last part of the 18th century, on account of the murder of his wife.¹¹ His son, also Jan Bloem by name, gave the meeting at Witgatboom a very full record of his wanderings,¹² which is important, because, in the first place, it provides a very graphic picture of the adventurer's life in those romantic days, and because, in the second place, it helps us to fix, approximately at any rate, the date of the migration of some of the Korana tribes further north.

On his arrival on the Orange River, Jan Bloem the elder settled for some time near the Langebergen, when he married several Korana wives and appears to have become the head of the Springbok tribe of Korana. He next moved to Blinkklip, or to be more accurate with Lichtenstein and Campbell, to the place which still perpetuates his name, Jan Bloem's Fontein, two miles north of Blinkklip, whence, after gathering a motley crowd of Korana, Bechuana and Bushmen, he began a series of wars against "the black nations." The advantage, which the use of firearms gave him, soon made him the terror of the district. His attack on Kuruman, which took place a few years before Truter and

⁹ G. M. II. pp. 121; 122, p. 126.

¹⁰ Campbell, 1820, I. p. 80; 88; II. p. 171; 185; 188-190.

¹¹ Jahresbericht of Berlin Missionary Society, 1843, p. 50-51; Campbell 1813, p. 378-379. He makes a mistake confusing the father and the son. Stow's account of Jan Bloem, pp. 290-1, is a mere verbatim copy of Campbell.

¹² B. C. Deposition of his own son, (p. 293-294), who accompanied him in his wanderings, for he "had then already ears and eyes."

Somerville's visit in 1801, reduced the Batlaping to almost complete ruin. Threatened by Cornelius Kok, another Bastard chief, he finally trekked higher up to Lekatlong, at the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, where—the testimony of Jan Bloem proves it—he found no Korana. In this neighbourhood, to use the picturesque words of the son, his "father sowed" for two years in succession.

From the headquarters at Lekatlong, cattle forays were continued in the first year. The next year was busily spent in raising a commando against Makaba, the chief of the Bangwaketse, at the instigation of the Batlaping, with whom, as well as with his other enemies, he had made peace. He also visited, for this purpose, the Korana of Jan Taaibosch the elder, who had then migrated to the Harts River. This is the first mention of this tribe in that neighbourhood.

The expedition was disastrous. Very few cattle were captured, and Jan Bloem the elder only came back to die, some say by drinking the water of a well poisoned by the Bangwaketse.

The movements of this remarkable man can be dated. Campbell notes in his Journal of 1813 at Jan Bloem's Fontein: "that fountain derived its name from a person who had died about fourteen years ago,"¹³ and Lichtenstein passing at the same place in 1805, says: "for there had lived ten years before a colonist of that name."¹⁴ So we have the two extreme dates—1799, the year of his death, and 1795, the year of his stay at Blinklip. Between them is his two years' residence at Lekatlong, in the last of which, that is, in 1798 or 1799, he met Jan Taaibosch the elder. The latter could not have been in that neighbourhood before 1799 when Jan Bloem arrived there, for "my father came in the country before the Korannas," says his son specifically. This further evidence decisively negatives a good portion of Massow's story. The old chief, we can definitely conclude, has telescoped together a series of events which it took a far greater number of years to happen.

Shortly after, the arrival of the first missionary occurred. In 1801, Rev. Anderson, of the London Missionary Society, established his first station in what is now Griqualand West. It was an event of capital importance, for it introduced new economic factors and new civilising influences. "The Corannas," he writes then, "are the most considerable people of those parts." But this was not to continue for long, for he came up, "accompanied by a number of *Bastards*."¹⁵

¹³ Campbell, 1813, p. 168.

¹⁴ Lichtenstein, II. 342.

¹⁵ T. M. S. (1804) p. 344 and 345.

These people were of mixed race, descended from the Dutch colonists and their Hottentot servants, who, through the northward expansion of the Colony, had been forced to the Orange River. More intelligent and more easily adaptable to European civilisation, they had, under missionary influences, taken to permanent agricultural pursuits and to a more stable form of government than the Korana. Lichtenstein, who visited with interest their numerous settlements—Laauwatersfontein, Rietfontein, Witwater, Taaiboschfontein, Leeuwenkuil and Ongeluksfontein,—was impressed by their comparatively high degree of civilisation into calling them a veritable “Hottentot republic,”¹⁶ and Campbell, in 1813, persuaded them to change the contemptuous “Bastard” for a new name, the “Griquas.”

This new element in the population of Griqualand, more advanced and more enterprising, pressed the more independent and irreducible Korana tribes further north and east and drove a wedge between them and the western tribes on the river, the “Hoogstanders,” the “Spinnekop,” whom we have met already, and the “Eynikoa,” of Wikar, who became all confused under the name of Korana in the time of Campbell. Those of the Korana who remained among the Griqua “for the sake of protection,” as Campbell puts it in 1813, “. . . are, as nearly as can be ascertained, 1341,”¹⁷ and they still were a considerable number, according to the returns of Waterboer, in 1845.¹⁸ They seemed to have become assimilated into the more progressive Griqua population in the course of time.

Concerning the western Korana at the beginning of the 19th century, Campbell has left some information mainly of statistical value, but unfortunately too incomplete.¹⁹ He had a most laborious journey from Griqualand to Pella in Namaqualand across the most dreary of countries, and saw some Korana kraals amounting to a few hundred inhabitants. He does not seem to have visited that part of the Great River, between Kakamas and Upington, which, at any rate, in Wikar’s day, contained most of the population.

Of the Korana who lived at the junction of the Vaal and Orange Rivers in 1778-1779, some,—the “Right Hand” tribe and the “Sorcerers,” wandered to the neighbourhood of what became afterwards the Berlin Missionary Station of Bethany, and finally settled at a later

¹⁶ Lichtenstein, II. p. 301-308.

¹⁷ Campbell, 1813, p. 256

¹⁸ B. C. p. 32-33.

¹⁹ Campbell, 1813, p. 273-299.

date at Hebron, higher up the Vaal River, and the "Springboks" we have already seen near Lekatlong, with Jan Bloem.

The Taaibosch or *Kei !Korana*, the most considerable of these tribes, did not migrate from the Orange River all at once. For Burchell met at Lithakong, in July 1812, "a numerous party of Kora Hottentots . . . from a kraal situated at a considerable distance eastward. They were conducted by the son of a *Kora* captain called *Taaibosch*. This latter was lately murdered by some Bichuanas; and the son, whose kraal was situated on the banks of the Gariep near the English ford, was now removing his father's cattle to that place,"²⁰ that is, precisely the original home of the *Kei !Korana*.

In 1813, Campbell in his northern journey stopped at the kraal of the "Tybus" as he calls them, at "Malapeetze."²¹ This place was in one of the kloofs leading to the Makara, the modern Dry Harts River, which joins the Harts River just below Taungs. It was very much at the same spot indicated by Burchell, east of Lekatlong. The numbers of the Korana there were about 300 in 56 huts, with a herd of cattle numbering 2,000, and an equal number at two other stations. There was also another numerous kraal to the north-east, which would approximately correspond to the Mamusa of the later days. So that the Taaibosch tribe, the largest and most important, seem even at this early date to have been in their full numbers in their new pasture-grounds in the north.

Oukey, the sub-captain, in the absence of Taaibosch himself, mentions some interesting details regarding their history. They had been under the rule of two brothers, Links and Abby. Links was now dead and it was his people who were at Malapeetze.

In 1820, the Malapeetze Korana had divided into three divisions. Campbell met the most numerous of them at Mobatee, still further to the north. He unfortunately does not give the name of the chief. Another division was twenty miles to the south. He did not call at Malapeetze, which was then deserted.²²

This interesting information collected by Campbell on his two journeys definitely shows that the whole of the Taaibosch tribe was then settled in his days (1813-1820), in those parts of the country which was

²⁰ Burchell, I. p. 345.

²¹ Campbell, 1813, p. 230-234.

²² Campbell, 1820, II. p. 22-23.

to remain their home for a long number of years, and that the Taaibosches and the Links were then still living together.

The history of the migration of the Korana tribes, especially the Taaibosches and the Links, tallies entirely with the traditions still current at Bloemhof. *Tabab*, *Matiti* and *Teteb* all agreed that they had come along the Orange River, there they had had a fight with the Batlaping. It was only when they reached Taungs that the Barolong attacked them but were driven to Setlagoli. Then they lived at Taungs with the Taaibosch, and separated from them at Mamusa. Scouts had been sent to reconnoitre the grazing and hunting possibilities of the banks of the Vaal. The Links then took their departure.

IV. HISTORY OF THE LINKS TRIBE

We have now reached the point, in the history of the northern Korana, when the Links have separated from the main body of the Taaibosch, and we shall now follow their fortunes in their future career as a separate tribal entity. When this separation actually happened, cannot now be accurately dated, for, from the meeting of Links by Campbell in July 1813,¹ when they seemed to be still in close contact with the Taaibosch, until 1820, when the existence of a large independent kraal of the Links on the Donkin River is disclosed by Hareena to the same official of the London Missionary Society, nothing is known of their movements. But, at any rate, it is certain that this "hiving off" occurred in this intervening period.

Hareena was a chief of the Links, who met Campbell on his second journey in August 1820, at Kōnnah on the Orange River, where the Korana was on a visit.² His tribe lived far away in the interior, at the junction of the Yellow and Donkin Rivers, that is, to give them their modern appellations, the Vaal and the Vet Rivers. The description given by Campbell of the "Donkin River which runs into the Yellow River, about four days' journey above its junction with the Malalareen (i.e., the Harts River) and flows from the east" makes identification definite, for the point where the Vet River flows into the Vaal is precisely 100 miles, that is four days' journey at an average of 25 miles a day, from the junction of the Vaal and Harts Rivers, and the general direction of the Donkin from east to west also corresponds to that of the Vet River.

¹ Campbell, 1813. p. 230-2.

² Campbell, 1820. II. p. 289, and Appendix iii in Vol. ii, pp. 348-352.

The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, "contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoyas—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

In their periodical "treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,³ but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbells, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a "bamboes" full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokee, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid "trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty "packing up" of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.⁴

Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bantze*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller "villages."⁵ This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

³ See Historical Texts.

⁴ Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaransstad.

⁵ Broadbent, p. 89-91.

in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moos* as the scene of his activities. *Moos*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadbent, have been very far from it.⁶ But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Bataung Molitsane. The Maquassie Station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moos*.⁷ It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.⁸

This Bataung chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatze, the great bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.⁹

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Machavi* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sifonello, on what is the present farm of Hartebeestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatze, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatze. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatze followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

⁶ Broadbent, on his return journey to England, took approximately 2 days from Maquassie Station to *Moos* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 122-125.

⁷ R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

⁸ R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 123.

⁹ B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 262-5; Magaal p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 249; Massow, p. 291; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 347; Nicholas Kruger, p. 350.

State, until they hurled Molitsane and the Links over the Modder River. A great battle took place just beyond, at Spitz Kop near the modern Bloemfontein. Molitsane had divided the stolen cattle in two parts; those which he had directed upon Spitzkop were recaptured by his enemies.

Johannes Hendrik Visser, a Colonial Boer who was in the habit of "trekking" yearly over the Great River with his flocks and herds, has left a graphic picture of the scene of havoc and desolation which met his eyes when, shortly after—in July 1829—a young boy of sixteen, he happened to be on the field of battle. "The following morning we rode with Esterhuisen, who pointed out the spot where the Stinkhout-spruit empties itself into the Modder River and from there threequarters of an hour on horseback to a single hill on the west side of the spruit and where we saw bodies of men, women and children by the hundreds. I did not know the tribes at that time, but they wore the same dress as the Barolongs, Batlapins and Bushmen kafir do at the present day. I examined hundreds of bodies, all of which had been killed by assegais and the only live person I saw was a young boy sitting alongside of a woman and which (sic) Stoffel Visser took home on horseback by order of the field-cornet. According to the track the Commando had retraced its steps through to the same drift." No doubt, if Visser had known more about the tribes, he would have recognised some faithful allies of Molitsane—the Links,—among the dead.

Molitsane himself was then attacked by Adam Kok, the Griqua chief of Philippolis, and his power finally broken. He will, however, appear at a later date, again as the ally and friend of the Links.

The Links, who had played a part in the battle of Spitzkop, belonged to the younger generation of the tribe, and among them was the chief's son, Johannes Links. The older people had remained where the kraals were then, at the junction of the Sand and Vet Rivers. The tribe seems to have remained dispersed for some time, as, in 1835, Rev. Wurra, of the Berlin Mission Station of Bethany, found Abraham Links with several large kraals in the same neighbourhood.¹⁰ It is certain that the Bloemhof district had ceased to be occupied by them until 1841.

During the intervening period (1829-1841) there had been events of the first importance in the history of South Africa. The Great Trek had taken place and the "emigrant Boers," to use the official designation of the documents of the English Government, had appeared on the scene

¹⁰ B. M. B. 1836, p. 178. ff.

of a country, which, previous to 1836, had only seen few white men, chiefly missionaries and a few occasional Colonial Boers, like Visser, who crossed the Orange River in search of winter pasture. In what is now the Bloemhof district, Dutch hunters in large parties would appear to pursue the plentiful game—springbok, blesbuck and wildebeest—which then swarmed on the banks of the Vaal. Such were Wynand Carl Bezuidenhout and Johannes Ludovicus Pretorius—two of the original “voortrekkers.” Bezuidenhout, a Free Stater, had travelled up the Vaal River from the point of its junction with the Harts River as far as the ruins of the old Wesleyan Mission Station in the Maquassie Bergen in 1837, on a hunting expedition. He had crossed the Vaal at the drift just below Bloemhof. In all the distance he had travelled, he had met with nobody,—Korana or Bantu or White man,—except two Bushmen.¹¹ The country was uninhabited. A year later, Pretorius went in the opposite direction, from Sand River in the Free State, to the Salt Pan, below Bloemhof, to fetch salt and to hunt. Neither he nor any one of his large party found “any occupants but an old Bastard near the Vet River.”¹² As late as 1840, Dumas, the French missionary of Mekwatling, in the Free State, travelling on a visit to the French missionary station of Motito in Bechuanaland, met, along the lower course of the Vet River, and through the Bloemhof district, only a few Bushmen and Griquas.¹³ Such had been the result of the sanguinary wars of Moselekatze and the fear inspired by his name continued long after to exercise its spell. Thus also it is an established fact that the Links had for the whole length of this period kept away from their former pasture grounds along the Vaal River between Christiana and Maquassie Spruit.

In 1841, we first hear of them again in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. In November or December of that year, a “smous,” that is an itinerant trader, Piet de la Rey, with the lumbering ox-wagon carrying his stock-in-trade, slowly and laboriously made his way from the Free State through the Bloemhof drift to his Native customers at Taungs. On the road, he outspanned at the Saltpan. A kraal of Korana resided there, “under Abraham Lynx and also his sons Gert and Johannes Lynx.”¹⁴ They had returned to their old home and their movements are further confirmed by the traditions now extant among the Bloemhof Korana.

¹¹ B. C. p. 237-238.

¹² B. C. p. 198.

¹³ J. D. *Missions Evangeliques*, 1841, p. 16-17 and map.

¹⁴ B. C. 253.

For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 1847, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Batlaping under Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.¹⁵ This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Hareip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.¹⁶ Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a northern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oerson,¹⁷ and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to¹⁸ the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the station nearly deserted.¹⁹

Old Hareip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.²⁰ He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

¹⁵ B. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.

¹⁶ B. M. B. 1853, p. 80.

¹⁷ B. M. B. 1853, p. 81.

¹⁸ B. M. B. years 1848-1854.

¹⁹ B. M. B. 1850, p. 202.

²⁰ B. M. B. 1853, p. 84.

Taaibosch threatened the destruction of the station. Gert Taaibosch was then the chief of the Korana of Nieuweland where he, in company with his brother Hanto, the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell and the Barolong of Moroko, had migrated from Platberg in 1834. In 1849, he and his friend Sikonyela fell foul of Moshesh, the great Basotho chief, and Moletsane. The latter has already appeared in this story, as the friend and ally of the Links and, in fact, at the time of the attack of Taaibosch was in possession of some cattle of the Links. The victorious Taaibosch made no distinction in the property of the cattle, but took all he could get. When Hareip of Saron heard the news, he was naturally disturbed and was for immediate war, but Schmidt persuaded him to apply for redress to Major Warden, the British resident at Bloemfontein. This he did, and obtained a letter directing the restoration of the Links cattle. Before, however, this could be used, the Links had already fallen upon the Taaibosch, who were on their way to Pniel on the Vaal River and recovered their cattle besides killing some of the men of Taaibosch, who vowed vengeance. Thanks, however, to the mediation of the missionaries, nothing serious resulted from this episode.²¹

A further loss of ten waggons during an attack by Major Warden on Molitsane at Mekwatling in September 1850 exasperated the Links, who until then had remained neutral. It drove them—Molitsane himself at a later date assigned this as a reason for their action—to rank themselves on the side of the Bataung chief at the battle of Viervoet (June 30th 1851), which ended so disastrously for Warden and his Native allies, among whom were Jan Taaibosch, Jan Bloem and Goliath. One of its consequences was a series of cattle forays by the Links under the leadership of adventurers like Van der Kolf. These events have their echo in the *Berichte* of the Berlin Mission, which show their disturbing effect on the Links.*

In the meantime, other occupants had appeared. Matlabane, who has already been mentioned, and his BaMairi did not trouble the Links to any great extent. In fact, he himself, and possibly a number of his subjects, had Korana blood in their veins, and in accordance with the custom not unknown among the Batlaping chiefs, he had married a Korana wife, the daughter of Gert Links, so that, when, in 1846, he came to his father-in-law, the permission to occupy grazing land was

²¹ B. M. B. 1850, p. 191; 202-6.

*Bas. Rec. I. pp. 299, 414, 421; Imperial Bluebook—no Number—May 1853, p. 18; B. M. B. 1851. pp. 12, 51, 202, 220; 1852, note on pp. 3-5; pp. 103, 106.

readily granted.²² BaMairi and Links seem to have lived in peace beside each other.

But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voor-trekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.²³ In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.²⁴ In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Maclabie, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had houses."²⁵ H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Saltpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a reed house."²⁶

Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society Mission at Mabotsa and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of which reached Saron early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Links tribe.²⁷ Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Saron became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."²⁸ But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Saron Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Batlaping chieftains Mahura and Gasibone to meet him at the Saltpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

²² B. C. p. 291-3.

²³ B. C. p. 257.

²⁴ B. C. p. 324.

²⁵ B. C. p. 263, and 265.

²⁶ B. C. p. 323.

²⁷ B. M. B. 1848-1854.

²⁸ B. C. 325.

opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must have further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicion. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; “now that Pretorius has been here,” said the Korana, “and that he has won our land, we must go.” On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links forsook Saron for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Basutoland Mountains, where their ally, Molitsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.²⁹

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm “Matlabanestad,” along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.³⁰

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.³¹ Native tradition at Bloemhof, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm “Nooitgedacht” on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson outspanned, just below Bloemhof near “a large Korana station” . . . and he received “the visit of the whole kraal . . . about 70 in all.”³² Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that “it was virtually under the authority of the Korana at Mamusa” and “soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas,” and four years later, he finds “a good many Koranas” still at the Saltpan.³³

²⁹ B. M. B. 1854, pp. 162-5.

³⁰ B. C. 215.

³¹ B. C. 289.

³² Anderson. *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.

³³ Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 195.

During the absence of the Links in the Nieuweland and other parts of the Free State, the discovery of the diamond fields at Kimberley and along the banks of the Vaal River, had considerably enhanced the value of the territories which until then had been occupied by the Natives. England, the Free State and even the Transvaal Republic were all laying claim to their possession. Colonel Warren had been sent by the Imperial Government to settle boundaries between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State in 1877. A Commission sat at Bloemhof in 1871, to settle the land claims between the Transvaal Republic and the Native chiefs, but had been unable to come to any decision. In October of the same year, Lieutenant Governor Keate, on the evidence gathered at Bloemhof, had made his "Award," which the Transvaal had consistently refused to recognise. The Links people had then returned to their old pasture-grounds in the "disputed territory," or, as it was sometimes called "the Keate Award," under conditions differing vastly from those under which they had left and when they applied in 1876 to Pniel for a missionary,³⁴ perhaps it was with the remembrance of what the Berlin Missionary Society had done in the past in maintaining the integrity of their territory. Rev. Kallenberg, who was in charge of the station at Pniel, travelled to the Saltpan and finally strongly recommended that the request be granted. Before a new missionary could come, Kallenberg looked after the Links at Saron, but Col. Lanyon evidently objected to his activities, for he had to warn him. Matters were proceeding fast. In the issue of the Kimberley paper, the *Diamond News* of the 5th November 1878, there appeared a proclamation signed by Hermanus Links and his councillors, laying claim "to certain large tracts of land in the Bloemhof district."³⁵ Col. Warren, who had been appointed Commissioner for the settlement of land claims, and also Col. commanding the troops in the Bloemhof district, was then on duty at Mamusa. He immediately summoned Hermanus Links, who appeared before him and repudiated the proclamation in a solemn declaration, because "these were not his words." He had not had it explained before signing it, nor did he make any claims to any lands.³⁶ In December of the same year, Missionary Brune arrived to take charge of the new Saron Mission.³⁷

Warren, in January 1879, directed Best, the Landdrost at Christiana, to request both Kallenberg and Brune to leave Saron. Kallenberg had

³⁴ Wangemann. *Süd-Afrika und seine Bewohner*. Vierter Aufsatz, p. 24.

³⁵ Imperial Blue Book, C. 2454-'79, p. 33.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 34.

³⁷ Wangemann, op. cit, p. 24.

already done so, but Brune flatly refused. In the meantime Warren had had an interview with Kallenberg in Kimberley.³⁸ There had been some serious differences already between the two men. Warren had had to adjudicate in the matter of the Pniel mission lands two years previously and had commented on the attitude of Wuras and Kallenberg towards the Korana in no measured terms.³⁹ Hence probably the inevitable reaction. It was a stormy interview during which Kallenberg became excited and violent, invoking the influence of the Society at the Court of Berlin and threatening to write at once to the Secretary of State in London. Warren seems merely to have reminded him of his position, as the one responsible for the peace in a country under military occupation. Kallenberg at a later stage retreated from his position, and apologised.³⁸

News of a serious nature now reached Warren in Kimberley. The Links had used force at the Saltpan to resist an officer of the peace sent to arrest one of their number for stock theft. Warren immediately proceeded to Christiana, where Mr. Brune and Hermanus Links arrived the next day to be examined. There Brune maintained his position that he was living under an independent Native chief and not under the British Government, but he retracted subsequently and was allowed to go on parole to the hotel, previous to going to Kimberley. Hermanus Links could assign no reason for his resistance, though at one point, he blamed Brune, but afterwards recanted. That night Col. Warren had to leave Kimberley owing to grave intelligence of signs of disturbance among the Natives, and he left the duty of disarming the Korana at the Saltpan in the hands of Major Rolleston.⁴⁰

What happened after Warren's departure is told in the Report of Capt. Poole.⁴¹ Mr. Brune is said to have broken his parole "on hearing of the Zulu disaster," and proceeded to the Saltpan. He is held responsible for the subsequent loss of life. Major Rolleston carried out his instructions on the Sunday afternoon with a mixed force of mounted police and volunteers. The Korana posted on the ridge above the Saltpan, were prepared to fight. On being called upon to lay down their arms, they took no notice, but retired into the bush. Major Rolleston, to show his peaceful intentions, rode among them unarmed, at the risk

³⁸ Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83. Report of Colonel Warren on the Affairs of Bechuanaland, p. 5.

³⁹ Imperial Blue Book—No number, Report on the land question of Griqualand West—Report No. 35, p. 81 ff.

⁴⁰ Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635, already quoted.

⁴¹ Imperial Blue Book, C. 2316-'79, p. 71. ff; See especially p. 72.

of his life. A Korana fired into his face and missed him. His men, however, having strict orders not to fire, did not retaliate. The Korana, however, perceiving that they were caught in the rear by another body of mounted police, and on being assured that they would not be fired at, proceeded to lay down their arms, which amounted to fifty loaded guns. A search was then made through the huts, but Mr. O'Reilly, being wounded in the arm, shot a Korana. The men then started to skirmish through the bush to clear it. At this point Mr. Swart of Christiana was shot dead. All the able-bodied Korana were made prisoners, and, together with the cattle, taken to Christiana. Sufficient cattle were left at Saron for the infirm, women and children. Mr. Brune had also been arrested and conveyed by cart to Christiana and thence to Kimberley.

A great deal of controversy has taken place around this question.⁴² Brune himself protested vigorously against the motives assigned to him in the official report published in the local press. In the version here given, which is the official English version, the part which is the direct report of Warren, has been carefully distinguished from the one which is Poole's. It will be noticed that in the first part—that is Warren's—there is no imputation of base motives to anyone. Warren was a fair, clean and honourable opponent. He blames Kallenberg or rather, he paints the interview in its true colours, but, if Kallenberg was violent, there is not a word of reproach against the man. As to Poole's report, although Warren, by including it in his own almost word for word, seems to endorse it, for he probably felt he had to support his officers, that part of the story assumes quite a different tone, and when it is read in conjunction with Brune's letter of protest, in the "*Independent*" of Kimberley, February 1879,⁴³ it is a matter for wonder whether all the accusations levelled in it against Brune can be substantiated. What Poole stigmatises as the breach of a man's word of honour Brune ascribes merely to his imperfect knowledge of English. He had just arrived in the country and there may have been some doubts in his mind, in spite of the fact that O'Reilly and Krause explained the position to him.⁴³ There is therefore no substantial reason to doubt his word. Again, Brune protests against the innuendo that he made use of the information about the Zulu disaster. Here again there is no reason to doubt him. If one may venture an opinion, it is that possibly Kallenberg's advice to Brune had been unjudicious. Brune himself had told Warren that Kallenberg

⁴² Letters of Brune and O'Reilly in the Kimberley paper "the Independent" in Imperial Blue Book, C. 2316-'79, p. 72-74 and p. 74-75, C. p. Wangemann op. cit. p. 24-26.

⁴³ Letters already quoted in foregoing note.

had induced him to believe that Hermanus Links was not under the English jurisdiction.⁴⁴ An impartial Court of Justice would certainly dismiss most of the major counts against Brune as "not prover."

On the other hand, Warren had to take strong measures, because he was in possession of undeniable proof of communication between the Zulus, the Bechuana and the Korana. In fact, in his despatches and reports to the Governor of the Cape, he mentions very precise cases of emissaries from the Zulus whom he had stopped on their way to the Barolong and David Massow, who were on the brink of a revolt.⁴⁵ It can therefore safely be concluded that the whole affair was the result of a series of misunderstandings from which, however, the Links were the chief sufferers. Caught in the vortex of our modern civilisation and involved in questions they could not understand, that luckless people lost their home, their all, and were dispersed, some going to Christiana, some to Bloemhof, some to Mamusa, only a few remaining at the Saltpan under Willem van Eck. The latter finally removed to Bloemhof, where they still are.⁴⁶

V. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The Korana texts here published are divided into two parts: (A) Historical texts; and (B) Ethnographical texts. The information they contain was obtained from the oldest among the Korana resident in the Bloemhof location who have been already described in the introduction.

The Historical texts are given without any commentary, as their most important points have been already embodied in the historical sections which open the present studies. On the other hand, the Ethnographical texts are accompanied by short notes by which it is hoped that their interest and value will be increased.

All these texts are in the Korana language, except three. The most important of these latter is the first series of historical texts given to me by my informants, partly in English and partly in Korana. I unified the language, keeping some of the relevant Korana words. In another important section, that on "Terms of Relationship," which is not properly a text, I for obvious reasons, had to explain them in English. One very short section, that on "Games," was thought to be more con-

⁴⁴ Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6.

⁴⁵ Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6-7 and C. 2316-'79, p. 70-71.

⁴⁶ Wangemann, *Ein zweites Reisejahr in Süd-Afrika*, p. 77-81.

veniently expressed in English. It will therefore be seen that the present collection gives ample material, not merely to the historian and to the ethnographer, but also to the student of the language.

METHOD

Believing as I do in carefully sifting any evidence available, especially from these very uncultured people, and having the opportunity to do so, I was able to check the collection of both texts and other material from a number of informants. For the texts particularly, I first got *Tabab* to tell his story. As he got very excited in the process of reviving the half-faded memories of his young days, I got a younger man, Thomas Links, *Tsi:ta* by his Korana name, to repeat verbatim *Tabab's* version very slowly, to give me an opportunity of recording *Tabab's* exact words. To increase the certainty, *!Kutsi* translated into English. That was in the afternoon of December 6th. On the morning of December 7th, I read over to *!Kutsi*, while alone with him, what I had written down. In the afternoon of the 8th, I again read, this time before all my informants, the same texts, sentence by sentence, enquiring with *!anusa*, "correct," after each, the question being addressed to each of the four old men in turn. And only once I had the answer *!anutama*, "not correct." This method I still used during my second trip. For the text of the */habab* ceremony, *Iis* gave me the words, constantly referring for her information to the older *Meis*, and being also assisted by *Kheis*. She gave me the English on the first day and the corresponding Korana on the next.

I have little doubt that, by this system of cross-checking, I have secured a perfectly faithful rendering of the text, which I have further given without the least alteration, just as I heard it spoken. I have introduced no emendations, and I have not attempted, where the Korana seemed to violate the rules of strict grammar, to alter the words of my informants accordingly. The Korana of the texts is, in the strictest sense of the term, "as it is spoken" among the *//are my//ais* at Bloemhof.

(A). HISTORICAL TEXTS

(i) The traditional history of the Korana from *!Kutsi*.

He explained that he got his information from his mother, who was a Korana and was very fond of telling him about their old customs and traditions.

The Korana people say *huri xu da na xā !kū* "we come from the sea, migrating in search of better pasture." *xā* means "to trek in order

to better oneself," a meaning confirmed by the older people, *Tabab*, *Matiti*, and others. This meaning is different from *doe*, which is simply "to trek, to flee." They used pack-oxen, *!kaimakwa*, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (*ba:s*) of the willows, *≠hūib*, growing on its banks, as they had no boats.

!Kutsi belongs to the *//are mŋ //ais*, the "left-hand" tribe or the "Links" (i.e., the Afrikaans word for "left" and has nothing to do with "Lynx," the animal, as the word is often wrongly spelt). They originated from two brothers, one going to the right and the other to the left.

According to *!kutsi*, the Korana had driven *Moselekatse* out of the Western Transvaal. He had heard of *Massow*, the great chief of the *kei !korana*, who lived at *Mamusa*, now Schweizer Reneke, where he and his tribe were destroyed about 1885. Now there are no more Korana at Schweizer Reneke, he said.

(ii) *Tabab*, the father-in-law, */uib*, of *!Kutsi*.

They came from the sea. They followed up the Orange River and crossed it at *Prieskab* and followed (?) the *Birikwa*, i.e., the Batlhaping and the Barolong. There were two tribes, the "Links" (*//are mŋ //ais* and the "Taaibosch" (*kei !koranu*).

There were fights on the Orange River and many *kei !korana* were killed. The chief of the "Links" was wounded, and the Batlhaping were destroyed. They followed the Vaal River (*/hei !garib*) and the Hart's River (*≠Kaob*) and arrived at Taungs. There was a great battle. The Batlhaping were destroyed. They fled to Kuruman. The Barolong were destroyed. They fled to Setlagole. They fled as far as the Molopo.

The *kei !korana* settled at Taungs. Together with the "Links," they hunted the wild animals and, in the manner of their ancestors, (*sida geida khwekwa*), trapped them in pits (*surugukwa*). Then the Korana quarrelled among themselves. One day the big chief of the "Links" was wounded, but the "Taaibosch" were destroyed. The chief of the "Links" took (*u:ha-*) a wife unto himself from among the "Taaibosch." The people trekked, leaving the chief behind. His wounds were tended, and they killed an ox for him by night. They came to fetch him. There was no more fighting, and people were sent to the Vaal River. Then the whole tribe trekked. After all these wars, they settled at Sterkfontein, a farm a few miles to the west of Bloemhof.

(iii) From *Matiti* and *Teteb*.

hurib xu inkje doe o, inkje ≠nu: !garib !kū ha o, inkje kei !korakwa ho:, inkje !ari !kū a kwa, ikje ≠kaop !na māsi !kwaxa, ikje ||na:ba xu Taungs !na ha:, ina ||na:ba Brikwa ||gobe:, ikje ||na:ba xu ||kāngu |kwai, ikje ||na:ba Brikwa !han ||heie, ikje Taub ||na:ba !kame, ikje ||na:ba xu Mamusaba !koa doe, ikukje ||na:ba xu |oro khwekwa |hei !garib !koa doe.

ikje haku kje ha, !kaudi he:ba mūe |hei !garib !na, ikje ≠an ≠ansie, Mamusaba !koa, ikje Kurutani (Mooifontein) ||na:ba doe ha, ≠untup, Teteb di ||nausab, ||omkje ||na:ba.

ikje sa:ku ||naba ho: ha oubi, ikje sa:ku !hanne, ikje daob ||kāu ||koba, ikje sa:ku |kam |ko:diab !kamme, ikje |nei khweb Mamusaba !koa s̄e, ikje ||na:ba xu khwekwa ≠noa |kwae, iku haku ko o, he: sa:ku ha ha i a, ikje sa:ku ||kāngu khwekwa.

Translation :

When they had trekked from the sea and when they had arrived at Orange River, they found the Great Korana there. Then they separated from them and came up to the Hart River. Then they went to Taungs. There the Brikwa attacked them. They fought together. There the Brikwa were destroyed and Tau was killed. From there they trekked to Mamusa and from there a few people trekked to the Vaal River.

When they came there, they saw here hippopotami in the Vaal River. They sent messages to Mamusa. Then they trekked to *Kurutani* (i.e. Mooifontein, a farm to the N.W. of Bloemhof). ≠*Untup*, the ancestor of *Teteb*, slept there. There the Bushmen discovered the old man. He was surrounded by the Bushmen. He fought his way through. They killed his two daughters. Another man was sent to Mamusa and from there men assisted. They came. The Bushmen were still there. The Bushmen fought the men.

Note :

Matiti told the first four lines of the story, up to the second "Brikwa." Then the old man got tired and was replaced by *Teteb*.

It will be noticed that, in this version, *Tau* is actually killed by the Korana; most probably the descendants of *Tau* are meant, as it is common practice among the Natives to speak thus.

B. ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The *doro*, the Boy's Puberty Ceremony.

Version A.

From *Tabab*, December 1931.

kx²om ina kx²ombae !harab !na |ko:kwa. ina gomab ≠abae. ||nuib ≠nabae ≠gaus !na, ie ≠gausi ≠hūiba xu die a.

≠an māsi sa khwekwa xana sāсібae.

io kx²a kuna ||kae, ina ≠ge:ie, ina oe. ina |uikwa !hō:e ||nūu !na. ina "hn-n" ti mī. !nuse ha a, iku ta ≠ge:ie o, iku ||nūu.

ina gōab māe, garamuf |kwa.

ina ||kxaeб māe:

ta:e sausub dao xu !aub !na ha |aiba.

itsa gu:xu:kwa ||kaigu |aina gu:xu:b mū o, ta:e !gaba ≠eib xu. a u:ha ||kāūba. ina ||kāūb gei khwekwa !gaba ≠eip.

itsa xu:b !aub !nahō: ho, u:ha ||kāūba !koa, ib |hū khweb (xu: ≠ēib) ha hō: bi ||kāūba !na.

!ōas ≠ū xu.

ina xu:b ita disa o, ||kaba ||kxaeб !na u: ≠ke:i.

ibta !ōas ≠ū o, ina ||naba ||o:.

ibta kx²omma xu ≠kwa o, ina hoxae, |nōas ≠gauwe !nona kurisas. ina !kxo:e ka sie. ibta !kxo: o, i kx²ausa. ibta !kxo: tā o, ||kaba ||kxaeб !na u: ≠ke:i.

Translation :

A house is built in the cattle-kraal for the youngsters. An ox is killed. The fat is poured for them into a dish. The dish is made of willow-wood. Well-known men are appointed to cook for them.

While they drink, they are called, they answer. Stones are struck together in their ear and they say "hn-n." If they are far, they are called, they hear.

Then they are given an assegai (knife), together with a kirri.

Then they are given instruction :

"Do not light your pipe from a fire in the veld.

If, among the flock, you see a crippled (sick) sheep, do not look at its foot.

Bring it home (to the stad), in order that the great men of the stad may look at its foot.

If you come across any (strange) thing in the veld, take it home (to the stad), that the owner may obtain it in the stad.

Do not eat a hare.

If you make any mistakes in anything, you go back to the "law" i.e. instruction.

If you eat a hare, you die there (i.e. on the spot)"

When he comes out of the (*doro*) house, a heifer is chosen, three years old. He runs hard, in order to catch it. If he catches it, he is a man. If he does not, he goes back to the "law" again.

Note : *Matiti*, the other informant added : */hūna ha !kū o, ikje dixu dorobi*, "since the white men (the English) have come, the *doro* has ceased."

When this version was tested, by getting *Matiti* to relate his facts, he only added ; (i) that the ox's entrails were burnt and the fat melted ; (ii) (among the "laws,") Do not tell a lie ; Do not steal ; Do not do anything wrong."

Version B : from *Tabab*, February 1932.

doro !na ko u: ≠kei. ina !wāsi kei khwekwa ku ha .ina gomare !kwa !kū ||kae. ina garamuf thi gōab thikha mǎe.

ina ||kxaeb mǎe:

ta:e !aub !na ho:we sa |aibba sausub khau.

ta:e !ōas ≠ū.

ta:e !aub !na ho: |aina itsta mū o.

ta:e !gaba ≠eib. a u:ha ||kǎūba !kwa.

iku gei khwekwa !gaba ≠eip.

itsta !aub !na !gaba ≠eib o, iku !kosa, ina ||kaba u: ≠kei.

ina gu:na di ||nuib kx²asie, ina ≠ge:ie, ina oe,

ina |uikwa !ho:e ||nǎu !na. !nusa ha a, iku ≠ge:ie kuta o, ||nǎu.

ina nona kurisas |nōas u: !kwāsibae. i ||garu, ita saoba ho: o, kx²aosa.

ita ho: tama ha o, ita ||kaba u: ≠ke:i.

Translation :

He is taken into the *doro*. Old men look after him. When they go and meet the cows, (the boy drinks milk). He is given a kirri and an assegai (knife).

Then the "laws" are given.

Do not light your pipe in a fire in the veld.

If you see anything sick in the veld, do not look at its foot. Bring it to the stad. The old men will look at its foot. If you look at its foot in the veld, you have transgressed, you must go back.

Then the fat of sheep is drunk. Then he is called. He answers. Then stones are struck in his ear. If he is far and he is called, he hears.

A nine year old heifer is picked, he chases it. If he catches its tail, he is a man. If he does not catch it, he is brought back to the "law."

Notes:

The *doro* ceremony. For an analysis of the accounts concerning the Nama ceremony and the sources, see Schapera, *The Khoi-san Peoples*, pp. 279-285, Olpp has given the most detailed account for the *Naman*. Schapera omits all reference to the Korana ceremonies throughout this part of his work.

For the Korana, see

- (i) Wikar, in G. M. II pp. 103-104.
- (ii) Campbell, 1820, II p. 346.
- (iii) Wuras. Ms. (1858) published in *Bantu Studies*, iii, p. 291-293.
- (iv) Burkhardt. p. 118.
- (v) Meinhof. p. 17-18 and 66-67.

It is the first time that the full *doro* ceremony is given in Korana. Meinhof has published a Korana text of the "laws" and has given a short description of the ceremony in German. Campbell merely says: "They have no rite of circumcision like the Bootchuana and the Morolong nations; but when a boy enters upon a state of manhood, a feast called Dorro is made according to the circumstances of the father. Sometimes eight or ten oxen are slain upon such an occasion."

By far the fullest account for the Korana is Wuras'. His facts tally with those set out in the two texts above. There are however one or two material points in which Wuras differs:

(a) the fat is rubbed on the boy's body, not drunk,

(b) the "*duub*, the very act of reception," as his version has it, consists of three parts: (i) "the knocking of the awls," which corresponds to the knocking of the stones in our text; (2) nine cuts on the belly and nine cuts on the chest of the initiate; (3) the "laws" given to him.

Tabab was very insistent, that the boy drank the fat and that may be symbolical of the cleansing, here inwardly as well as outwardly. He was also very definite on the question of the cuts : *doro !na |gorekwa ha tama*, "in the *doro* there are no cuts." On these two points, when I questioned him after having told his story, I could get no other answer. The other old men questioned separately, confirmed *Tabab*. The cuts will appear later, as we shall see. They all agreed that the $\neq a:di$, the "reed pipes" and dancing went on during the *doro*. The "laws" given by *Wuras* are slightly different and not so full.

The *doro* is now extinct. The introduction of Christianity killed it, but it was still practised in the middle of last century, as is testified by the following statement of Andries, a councillor of Massow Rijt Taai-bosch at the Witgatboom meeting (1869), "The Korannas instruct their children, when still young, in their laws and customs." (B.C. 298).

The *!gam ||kxaeb* ceremony.

ina ibta xami khamma $\neq noa$ o, ina ||nausab si ||nae, ina goman $\neq ae$, |gorekwa māsi |kha: kx²ai ||nausab.

Translation :

If he has shot an animal like a lion, and they go as far as to tell his uncle, oxen are killed and his uncle puts cuts on his body.

Tabab explained that the cuts were on the shoulders downwards on to the abdomen and on the abdomen, stretching horizontally from the navel. No charcoal dust was rubbed in. *Matiti* and *Teteb* confirmed. They all agreed that it was after this test of manliness, the first killing of a large wild animal, that the cuts were made, and that it was, as it were, a continuation of the process of initiation, the catching of the calf in the *doro* being merely a substitute for the real completion of the ceremony. A casual remark of Mrs. Hoernlé in her "Conception on the *!nau*" (p. 70) has been interpreted by Schapera (op. cit. p. 309) as implying that the *doro* and this ceremony are but one. Here, in the data given by *Tabab* and his old associates, we have full confirmation of this, in spite of Schapera's fear that time was past to obtain such confirmation.

Wuras (op. cit. p. 293) describes the rite under the name of *!guwisa:b*. He did not collect any information about its inner significance.

The *|habab*, the Girl's Puberty Ceremony.

||kaeb ta ha o, |ko:s di |habab, ina !khaib dibae, ina |haruba māsi $\neq kae$, ina |kona mā kx²am ||ab dibae, ina !nose $\neq nu$, xu:kwa geise !gaba

tama, i ||kaosen tama, ina ≠kwa: ta o, |kona mā kx²am ||aba ≠kwa:sa, ina gei khwesa loasi.

iku ta o, iku ≠u:kwa twa o, ina !kāsab gu:b mā, ina gu:b ≠ae, ina a:b !na !aioxodomaē, ina ≠gaus !na xaba die |aubi, ina gei khwesa sāsie, ina gei oudi ina habu, ina ||khom di |harab u:e, ina |harab |kwa ≠kauwe, ||nuib |kwa ina uree, ina ure twa sta o, ina ||nuiba ≠kauwe, ina !nouba ||kaba |hoboe, ina sāba thūmme.

ina gu:b tu sāsie o, ina |aeosa keisa khwedi ≠ūe, ina !kū:b |kwa, |habib tsi ≠namma tsikwa anae, ina !amdi ||ka:e.

ina gei khwesi kwa hwaxu:kwa !ko tsi xun |uib tsikwa, ina xun |kxvae.

ina !gariba u: ≠kae, i ousi heis u:ha, ina ho:sista o, ina ≠goap u:e, ina ≠goaba he:ba !kurue tsi ≠geithakwa u:kx²ai !kurue, ina ||na:ba ||gamma kx²am !na mē, ||kwaku kx²ai mē, ina he: heisa ≠naue, ina kx²ai xarie.

ina|| kāūba !koa !kū, ina gei khwedi ||nae, ina ||am, ina ≠na:.

Translation :

When the time comes, the puberty ceremony of the young girl, a room is made for her. A mat is put in. A separate door is made for her. She sits quietly. She does not look at things too much. She does not scratch herself. When she goes out, she goes out by the separate door. An old woman looks after her. When the ceremony is finished, the brother gives a sheep. The sheep is killed, his throat is cut over a hole. The blood is gathered in a wooden vessel. It is cooked by an old woman. The old women eat it all up. The mist is drawn out of the entrails. She is rubbed with the mist. It is rubbed off with fat. Then red ochre is again rubbed. Then *sāb* (a perfumed powder) is sprinkled (over) her.

When the sheep is cooked, it is eaten by the healthy women. Then she (i.e. the girl) is clothed with a back-kaross and a fore-kaross and a wrapping kaross and beads are put round her neck.

Then the old woman touches (with her) everything and the grind-stone also and they grind together.

Then she is taken to the river. The old woman gets a little stick, When she has it, she takes some clay, she (the girl), is rubbed with this clay and her thighs are rubbed all over. She is placed on the edge of the water, she is made to bend on her knees. It (the water), is struck with this little stick. She is sprinkled all over. Then she returns to the stad. The old women sing and clap their hands and dance.

Note : Henceforth, explained *Iis* and *Meis*, she ceased to be a */ko:s* and became an *oaxais*, until her marriage when she became a *taras* or wife. *Iis* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *sāb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Kheis* brought me some and she and *Iis* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows : (i) */kaep* ; (ii) */ui sāb*, a green lichen growing on stones ; (iii) */hareb*, " veld biesies," roots only ; (iv) *!hu !kūb* ; (v) *!gwabeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter ; and lastly the *!konabab* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*!gāi ham*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty oxen, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *≠a:di* and dancing. The *aba gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a *!naes /ko:na gomab*, " an ox for the newborn children " was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, *!naes /ko:na gomas*.

The life history of *Iis*

gei !koab kurib !na Iis kje !khoub kx²ai !nae ha. ikje !koab hwa kx²omina !go kx²ai. ||na: ||kae, kx²omina /harukwa xu die ha. ikje /harukwa /hāb xu die, ikje tarakhwedī !garib !na /hākwa di /hou /hou.

Translation :

Iis was born at Saron (!*khoub*) in the year of the great snow. The snow covered all the huts. At that time the huts were made of mats. The mats were made of rush. The women collected the rushes in the river.

Note :

The Links returned to Saron in 1875 (See "History of the Links tribe."). In 1876 there was an abnormal fall of snow. The Government Land-Surveyor, A. C. Bailie, leaving on a Government mission for the North, writes : "On the evening of the 23rd June 1876, I started my waggon (from Kimberley) On arriving at Barkly West, about eighteen miles from here, I found my waggon stuck on account of the snow" (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2220-79 p. 74). He had been already delayed in Kimberley for the same reason (*ibid*, p. 47). Therefore *Iis* was born in 1876. She further told me and this was corroborated by *Tabab* and *Kheis*, that they were still living in rush-mat huts at the end of the Anglo-Boer war (1902).

Funeral of a Chief.

gaoxaob ta !naue o, ina |hobab !naue-ina !khaib dibae, ina haikwa !narae, ina |harub !asibae, ina |kha: ||o:b ≠nammi xa xamie, ina ||na:ba ||goisie, ina |nei |haruba !kău kx²amme, ina !hu:ba thurue.

Translation :

If a chief is buried, he is buried in a grave. A chamber is made for him. Twigs are strewn. Then a mat is spread out. Then the dead body is wrapped up in a kaross. Then it is laid down. Then it is closed up with another mat. Then earth is thrown (over him).

Note :

My informants were *Teteb* and *Iis*. We had been talking about the grave of Johannes Links at Saron, which we had recently visited. *Teteb* told me he had seen the burial, and I asked him to give me a description of it. It surprised me that the old Hottentot practice of burying the body in a sitting posture was not mentioned. *Teteb* denied this and here he is supported by a very accurate observer, Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 316

In plate 4, the grave of Johannes Links is seen marked by a heap of stones.

Terms of Relationship

The method used here was to procure from my informants genealogical lists (which follow later in these studies). Then the informants

were asked what they called the different members of the genealogy, these being named by their specific names. By this means, a direct question embodying the English or Afrikaans term was avoided and it was thus possible to secure the real Korana word denoting the particular relationship.

Referring to the genealogical lists,

A. (Genealogical list of *Matiti* and *!gobo ≠xa*)

<i>!gobo ≠xa</i> called	<i>Api</i> (father)	<i>ti ib</i> ;
	<i>Dzelani</i> (mother)	<i>ti is</i> ;
	<i>Matiti</i> (father's brother)	<i>gei ta</i> ("groot pa")
	<i>Matowna</i> (grandfather)	<i>ti //naub</i> ;
	<i>!Kurubab</i> (great-grandfather)	<i>ti gei //naub</i> ;
	<i>E:di</i> (cousin by father's brother)	<i>ti !kās</i> ;
	<i>Otomas</i> (-do-)	<i>ti !kās</i> .

B. (Genealogical list of the Links Chiefs)

<i>Kheis</i> called	<i>!Aukeis</i> (cousin by father's brother)	<i>Ti !kās</i> ;
	<i>Brikib</i> (-do-)	<i>ti !kāb</i> ;
	<i>Geiy !hareip</i> (grandfather)	<i>ti //naub</i> ;
	<i>Ouhanas</i> (grandmother)	<i>oumas</i> ;
<i>!Kutsi</i> called	<i>Tabab</i> (Father-in-law)	<i>ti/uiḅ</i> ;
	<i>Kheis</i> (mother-in-law)	<i>ti/uiḥ</i> ;
	<i>Leli</i> (daughter)	<i>ti ḡas</i> ;
	<i>Dani</i> (son)	<i>ti ḡab</i> ;
	<i>Oreas</i> (wife)	<i>ti taras</i> ;
<i>Oreas</i> called	<i>!Kutsi</i> (husband)	<i>ti xai</i> ;
	<i>Katsilib</i> (mother's brother)	<i>Ti //nausob</i> ;

C. (Genealogical list of *Meis* and *Iis*)

<i>Iis</i> called	<i>Hinas</i> (father's sister)	<i>ti moekis, oumas</i> ;
	<i>Seko</i> : (uncle by marriage)	<i>ti //nurib</i> ;
	<i>Mulukab</i> (cousin by mother's sister)	<i>ti //nurib</i> ;
	<i>Tareas</i> (father's sister)	<i>ti moekis</i> ;
	<i>Bupen</i> (cousin by mother's sister)	<i>ti //nurib</i> .
<i>!gasibe</i> called	<i>Iis</i> (mother)	<i>ti is</i> ;
	<i>Kivido</i> (grandfather)	<i>outab</i> ;
	<i>Tareas</i> (great aunt)	<i>oumas</i> ;
	<i>Hinas</i> (great aunt)	<i>oumas</i> ;
	<i>Seko</i> : (great uncle)	<i>outab</i> ;
	<i>Meis</i> (mother's elder sister)	<i>gei mas</i> ;
	<i>Mulukab</i> (second cousin)	<i>mas //nurib</i> .

Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that elder person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not so full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (op. cit. p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Hoernlé (the Social Organisation of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (op. cit. pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (op. cit. p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kats, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tarakhwedi na !o:kwa !khares thi heib thikha khau |kwa. ||kwa ka ka kje na !kü, ina !uri ||kae kx²wa ha. saob kx²ai ||nāukwa na |oro ||na:e. !kharedi kx²ausakwa xa takakhwedi dibae. geida khwekwa ikje diba. ||guru |uikwa ida kje di tama. sa:kwa kukje di kwa.

Translation :

The women dig for "uintjes" with the bored-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

The bored stones were made by the men for the women. Our ancestors made them. We did not make the stone scrapers (or knives). The Bushmen made them.

Note :

This text was given, on *Tabab*, *Teteb* and *Iis* being shown a bored stone and some other artefacts from Sheppard Island. The word *!khares* also means a "hammer," a fact which seems to imply that they were put to more uses than the one here indicated. Wikar (G.M. p. 88), speaking of the deep pits for trapping wild animals, has recorded their use as late as 1779. "They have," he writes, "a *kirri* of olive-wood, which is cut into a sharp point, and somewhat about the middle of the *kirri* is a round heavy stone in the centre of which a hole has been bored ; through the weight which the *kirri* gathers from the round stone " the digging is made easy. Cp. for other uses in South Africa Mrs. Hoernlé, "A note on bored stones among the Bantu " in *Bantu Studies*, v, p. 253-255 ; and also for the Korana, Meinhof, *Die Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*, p. 14.

They did not merely shoot with bows and arrows. *!Kutsi's* mother told him that the men of her generation used to throw (\neq *noa*) large stones from one side of the Vaal across the river (which is here 150 yards broad from bank to bank) and hit and kill men or animals on the opposite bank.

Bows and arrows

!ka:b sa:kwa di |kwa. ikje !korakwa !ka:b di |kwa tama. ikje |ko:kwa |ga: kha:di |kwa |hurubekwa khama |huru ha. ikje ||kākx²ausakwa torob !na gei kha:di thi \neq a:kwa thikwa \neq noa. ikje !hami'na, |kū:di thi gaokwa thikwa surugub !na !kxo:e. ikje gōab |kwa !kamme.

Translation :

The Bushmen used poison. The Korana did not use poison. The young boys played with small bows as playthings. The warriors shot in the war with large bows and arrows. In the chase, the springboks and the wildebeest were trapped in the pit. Then they were killed with an assegai.

Informants : *Dzuli*, *Matiti* and *Kheis*.

I take it that the meaning is that the Korana originally did not use poison. But when the Hottentots had come into contact with the Bushmen, their arrows were poisoned.

Wikar has a full description of these bows and arrows of the Bushmen and of the pastoral people who dwell along the river ("de veeryke naties langs deeze rivier leggende" (G. M. ii. p. 130-131) as also the poisons used by them and their origin (ibid. pp. 131-133).

PASTIMES

The making of the *!goa !karib* (honey beer)

danisa u: ≠ke.i.

//nāib ina !hūe, ina /kū /kūe, ina //karae, ina thamsu !kaib ab' u:e. ina danis /kwa ≠gobe.

ina /kamsa //gammi ha ≠na ≠amme. ina o !go kx²aie. ina /kū /kūe.

Translation :

Honey is put in.

The *//nāib* root is stamped. It is boiled. Then it is sifted. Then its soft portion is taken. Then it is mixed with the honey.

Then boiling water is poured around it. Then it is covered up. Then it boils itself.

Note :

Beer-making is given under the present heading, as the beer was an essential part of all festivities. It has often been the subject of travellers' remarks, Thunberg, Wikar and Alexander, to mention the most prominent among them. Thunberg (1774 "*Travels.*" II p. 150 and 167) calls the substance which acts as the fermenting agent by its Dutch name *moer-wortel*. Wikar (1778-1779, G. M. II, p. 92) has given a very full description : "Every day our company makes beer, the "dregs" (*moer*) through which the beer works is the root of the above-named *haap* or "haarwortel," which is dried and stamped and helps the warm, sweet honey water to work."—a description which concords with the Korana text given to me by *Tabab*. Wikar adds some further interesting details about the feasting that follows. The *//nāib* was described by *Tabab* as " 'n wortel met rooi blommetjes." According to Pettman (*Africanderisms*), the *Mesembryanthemum* Mill is the root used. It seems that different roots were used in different places.

Games

(i) The *//hu:s*. This game is well known from the descriptions of observers like Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 313-315). The

Korana description did not differ from the game as played by the Naman. It may be useful to point out here that the game gets its name from //hu:, "To make a hole" and //hu:s is thus properly "a hole."

(ii) The *gunukunus*, "hide-and-seek." It is played by two or more players, one of them hiding some small object in one of his hands behind his back and then producing both his hands closed, he exclaims: "*ham !kuminy !na ha?*" "In which hand is it?" If the opponent guesses correctly, he says: *!kaugu*. "You win."

This game is of interest because it is the famous "Hottentot card-playing," to call it by the name under which it was familiar to the Dutch colonists. It has been lengthily described by Sparrman, among others, in his *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, (I, p. 231-233). He, however, missed the essentials of its significance.

VI. LANGUAGE.

This short survey concerns only the language of the //aremy //ais of Bloemhof and it is limited to its most important aspects. It does not appear necessary to go in a detailed manner into the features which our particular dialect may have in common with the rest of the Korana language and which have been adequately dealt with in the following works:

- (i) Engelbrecht—J. A. *Studies oor Korannataal*, Kaapstad, 1928. It contains a grammatical sketch and a very copious vocabulary.
- (ii) Meinhof—C. *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*, Berlin, 1930. A very thorough exposition of the grammar and the vocabulary.
- (iii) Maingard—L. F. *A revised ms. version of the Korana Catechism of C. F. Wuras*, Bantu Studies, v, 112-165. Contains a detailed grammatical analysis of the text and a comparative vocabulary.

PHONOLOGY

Note: The texts already given preserve the individual peculiarities of each speaker.

(a) *Vowels*. Their pronunciation is not always very clear. Engelbrecht has already noted the indistinctness between the pairs *ē* and

ĩ and ǝ and ũ (p. 7). I found the same hesitancy in many other instances. Thus $\neq ke:i$ in *Tabab*'s pronunciation, as against *Iis*, $\neq kae$, "to be brought in." $\neq ke:i$ can be explained thus: $\neq kae > \neq kee$ (with $a > e$) $> \neq ke:i$ (i by dissimilation). Again *!Naes* in the group *!naes /ko:na gomab* was pronounced *!neis* by *Tabab*, who is considered as the best Korana speaker in Bloemhof.

Similarly *o* and *u*, e.g. *uru* and *ore* "to free, rub off"; *!Koro* and *!kuru*, "to rub, massage";

au and *ou* in *!naub* and *!noub*, "red ochre";

ǣu and *ǝu* in *||nǣu* and *||nǝu*, "to hear."

An *ɔ* is found in some words, e.g. *!gɔ kx²ai*, "to cover"; *kx²mi*, "house."

An *y* is heard sometimes in */uib*, "stone" pronounced */yib*, as against */uib*, "father-in-law," which never shows the *y*.

ua > wa e.g. *!koa*, and *!kwa* "to"; */kwa*, "with"; $\neq kwa$, "to go out."

w develops between *o:* and *e* in *ho:we* "to be obtained," (heard once).

(b) Consonants.

(i) *-b* is very often devoiced into *-p*. Thus *Tabap* instead of *Tabab*; *geip!* *hareip*; $\neq eip$ instead of $\neq eib$, "foot."

-b- (intervocalic) is sometimes, but very seldom heard as *-β-*.

(ii) The flapped retroflex consonant which is heard as *r* or *l* or *d* exists. Thus, in proper names, *Mulukab*, *geip!* *hareip*, *Katsilip*, etc. I have heard *Iis* say *!garip* and *!gadip* "the river" and *Tabab* say indifferently *gomadi* and *gomari* "the cows."

The existence of this consonant explains, to my mind, such distinctions as this one made by Wuras (*Vocabulary of the Korana Language*, under "Cow"): "All the females have two plurals—the woman says; *Kumatee*; the man says: *Kumare*." and by Engelbrecht (p. 8): "Reeds uit die voorgaande het ons gesien dat die gebruik van 'n *r*- of 'n *d*- vorm afhang van die geslag van die spreker. . . . By die vorming van die verkleinwoord word naamlik tussen stam en agtervoegsel *-ra-* od *-da-* ingelas al na die spreker tot die manlike of tot die vroulike geslag behoort."

(iii) The *l* exists very rarely. I observed it only in one word *laula* "I am sorry, excuse me."

(iv) *k* and *g* are very loosely pronounced and *g* very often devoiced.

(v) An *ŋ* develops between the final nasal of a word and the initial click of the following word. This is specially observable in stereotyped word groups, such as tribal names; *//aremŋ //ais*; "the Links" *!Kuriŋ //ais*, "the Hoogstanders"; *!hãonŋ //ais*, "the Katmense"; *!hũŋ //ais* the "Skerpioens." Also in proper names, e.g. *geiŋ !hareiɸ* where there is however no preceding nasal in the isolated word. It is not so common otherwise, although heard in rapid speech occasionally, *geiŋ ≠a:s* "the big reed."

(vi) Clicks. The same indistinctness applies to the velar element of the click as to the isolated velars *k* and *g*. This is perhaps why individual observers differ so much in their notation of this velar element of the click. The Bloemhof Korana were, however, more careful when this element meant a semantic difference, e.g. *!garib*, "the Orange River," and *!karib*, "honey-beer," and *!harib* "whip"; *//kaeb*, "time," and *//kxaeɸ* "law."

I observed no ejective velar affricate *kxʔ* after clicks, as Meinhof did for the Kat tribe dialect. In this I agree with Engelbrecht. Sometimes clicks are dropped, here again in stereotyped groups, *//aremŋ //ais* being a good example, < *//are* "left," + *//õab*, "arm," *//ais* "tribe." This may happen also, but very seldom in rapid conversation.

(c) *Tones.*

Like all Hottentot dialects, the Bloemhof speech uses tones, which sometimes connote a semantic difference, e.g. */uib*, "stone," with a high tone, and */uib*, "father-in-law," with a low tone. I observed the recognised three tones, but I suspect that further investigation may reveal more. But as these may be bound up not with the word-tone, but with the sentence-tone, which exists very prominently in Korana, it would be premature to say anything further.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

It is not always an easy matter to distinguish between the two in the language we are now considering.

Meinhof (p. 39) has rightly remarked that "die Kasusendungen sind also nicht denen indogermanischen Sprachen gleich zu setzen, da sie noch in der Entwicklung begriffen sind." The so-called case-endings in Hottentot are properly pronominal forms, just tacked on to the noun, more or less loosely and sometimes not at all. From what I can judge

by speaking to the Korana, they do not seem to have a very strong sense of these as case-endings. It is interesting in this connection, to examine carefully the lists of words of the 16th century old Cape dialect (cp. G. M. i. pp. 215-224). There is not, out of the many masculine nouns, a single one ending in *-b*, there are a few feminines ending in *-s*. There are a number of plural masculines ending in *-kwa*. This usage, in the case of isolated words, is fully confirmed by the texts we possess of the period (the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments, *Cape Monthly* 1858. 116-9). It might perhaps not be unreasonable to conjecture that the extensive use of these endings are a relatively modern development.

In our dialect, the *-b* is regularly dropped, in a number of cases, e.g. when *//kaeb*, "time" is placed at the end of a temporal clause: *io kx²a kuna //kae, ina ≠geie*, "when they have drunk, they are called." But even in other connections, this omission is found, e.g. *!uri //kae*, "in the afternoon time." Frequent as this is, it is still almost one of the few fairly regular features of Korana.

Similarly with the tense-particle of the verbs, they are often left out, if we do not count *ina* as such. For this particle, properly expressing the present tense, becomes in the current usage of to-day a mere equivalent of "and." *Ta* is also regularly used to express the future. There is, in this respect, another interesting usage. Schultze, with his usual acumen, has already noted for Nama what he calls the *Passivum narrativum* (op. cit. 392). He says: "Statt zu sagen *tsis gye go ≠na*, d.h. "und sie tanzte," sagt der Hottentot in Zusammenhange der Erzählung gern: *tsi gye go ≠nahe*, (*-he*, Passivendung), d.h. "und es wurde getanzt," wobei das Subjekt des vorhergehenden Satzes (obwohl im Passivsatz selbst durch kein Suffix angedeutet) doch mit aller Bestimmtheit persönlich vorgestellt wird."—a practice singularly like the Bushman. We observe precisely the same syntactical phenomena in our Bloemhof texts, e.g. *ikje haku kje ha, !kaudi he: ba müe;*, *ikje ≠an ≠ansie*, etc, cp. also the last lines of */habab* ceremony, etc.

This looseness in the structure of the Hottentot sentence is still more apparent in the way in which words are juxtaposed to create an adjectival relationship, e.g. *≠an māsi sa khwekwa sāsibae*, lit: "know, place, *sa* adjectival postfix, it is cooked for him." (the two first are plain verb-roots), i.e. "certain men are appointed to cook for him." Or again, */kona mā kx'am //ap*. lit. "alone, place, mouth door," i.e. "a separate door," etc. These are purely agglutinative constructions, where all sense of what we are accustomed to call "parts of speech" is lost or perhaps never existed.

THE PLACE OF KORANA AMONG THE HOTTENTOT DIALECTS

Korana has been often compared with Nama in recent years. A comparison with the Old Cape dialects is no less important, if we are to determine accurately the relationship of Korana to the other members of the Hottentot linguistic family. Cape Hottentot is however an extinct language. But we fortunately have word lists of this old dialect, dating back to the end of the 16th century, to which we have already referred and which probably all came from the same source, as I hope to prove some day. We shall take for our present purpose the lists published in Godée-Molesbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, p. 215-224). They provide an excellent basis for comparison with Korana, in view of the fact that the two peoples who spoke the dialects are fundamentally identical.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF KORANA, CAPE AND NAMA DIALECTS

<i>Korana.</i>	<i>Cape.</i>	<i>Nama.</i>	<i>English.</i>
<i>A.</i>			
1. <i>kx²a</i>	<i>kx²a, kaa</i>	<i>a</i>	"to drink"
2. <i>kx²am</i>	<i>kamqua, quamqua</i>	<i>am</i>	"mouth."
3. <i>kx²anis</i>	<i>k²anniqua</i>	<i>ani</i>	"bird."
4. <i>kx²ēib</i>	<i>qu²ein</i>	<i>āib</i>	"liver."
5. <i>kx²omi</i>	<i>k²omma</i>	<i>omi</i>	"house."
6. <i>kx²oēsibe</i>	<i>k²quoniaba</i>	<i>ūitsaba</i>	"alive."
7. <i>thui goab</i>	<i>thikwa</i>	<i>tsui goab</i>	"God."
<i>B.</i>			
1. <i>bi lāb</i>	<i>biqua, biquaan</i>	<i>tanas</i>	"head."
2. <i>tamma</i>	<i>tamma</i>	<i>nami</i>	"tongue."
3. <i>xoasaob</i>	<i>t²gwassow, choassow</i>	<i> garub</i>	"tiger."
4. <i> hūkab</i>	<i>thouqua</i>	<i>≠hirab</i>	"wolf."
5. <i>bib</i>	<i>bib</i>	<i>deib</i>	"milk."

The evidence in this table is conclusive. Not only have we here in Group A 1-6, a series of words beginning with the ejective velar affricate *kx'* in Korana and the Cape dialect (the *-b* and the *-qua=-kwa* are merely endings, which can be neglected for our present purpose), whilst Nama has consistently dropped that sound combination. In A. 7 the *th* again belongs to Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama.

We have still more decisive evidence in the words in group B. The names of the parts of the body belong to the fundamental stratum of the vocabulary and here we have the words for "head" and "tongue" shared by Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama *tanas* and *nami*. Names of common animals vary a great deal from one part of the country to another and yet the two geographically widely separated dialects—Korana and Cape—agree in their names for "wolf" and "tiger." That very common Hottentot article of food, "milk" is the same in Korana and Cape (*bib*) as against Nama *deip*.

In 1919, Rev. C. Wandres tried, in a learned study ("Alte Wortlisten der Hottentotsprache, *Zeit. f. Kolonialsprachen*, ix, 26-42), to explain those identical words of these lists and his success was conspicuous, for he knew Nama well. But when he handled the words given above, he had to confess his failure, because his basis was Nama and not Korana. For instance, he said of *biquaan* "dieses wort ist nicht mehr bekannt"; of *qu'ein*: "*qu'* ist mir unerklärlich"; of *kamqua*: "das *k* . . . am Anfang des Wortes verstehe ich nicht," etc. I quote the difficulties of Rev. Wandres as a practical test to show how different Nama is in those few words at any rate, from Korana and how Cape Hottentot is made clear by referring to Korana.

We are now compelled to the conclusion that (i) Korana and Cape Hottentot form a dialectal group, whilst Nama stands apart; (ii) that Nama must have separated from the common Hottentot language before the Korana and Cape tribes went apart.

VII. GENEALOGICAL LISTS

GENERAL

The sex of the members of these genealogical lists is, with a very few exceptions, sufficiently indicated by the Hottentot endings of the names:

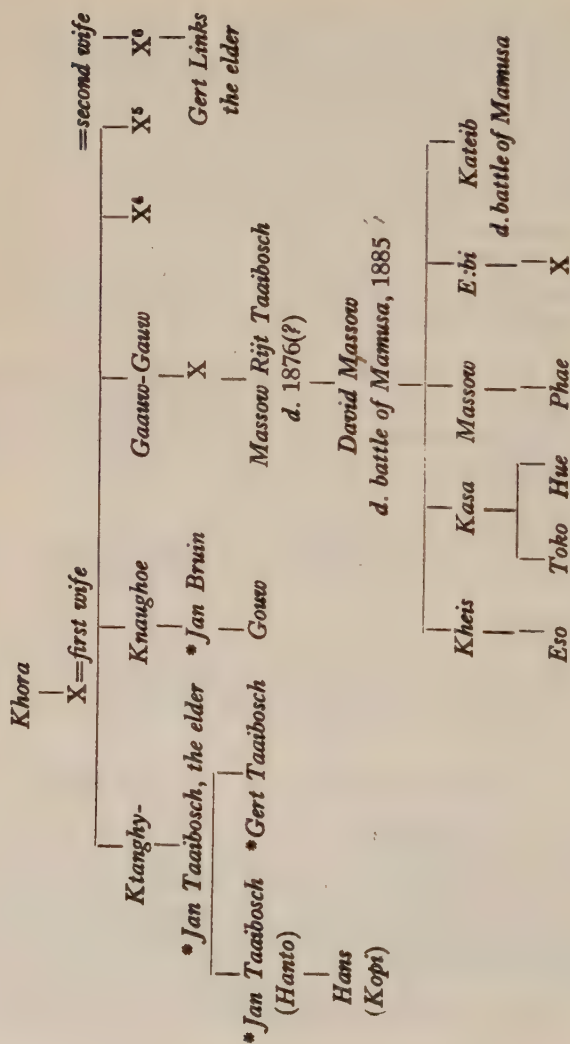
-*b* (-*p*), for the males, and -*s* for the females.

It is to be noted that:

- (i) in very many cases they have a Korana as well as a Dutch name.
- (ii) the names of the children of *!kutsi* and *Oreas* have mostly European Christian names.
- (iii) x in these lists represents a member unknown by name.

GENEALOGY OF THE TAAIBOSCH CHIEFS

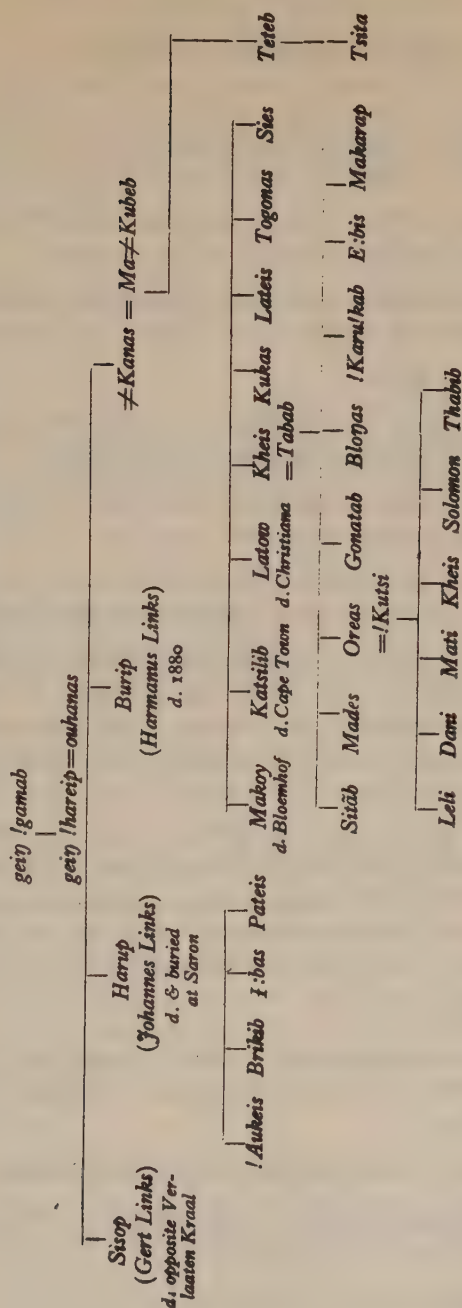
(i)



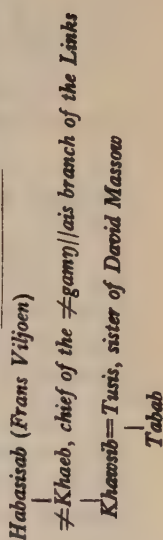
(ii)

Kora
 —
Eikomo
 —
Kuebib
 —
Kongap
 —
Kuenonkeip
 —
Makabuté
 —
Kaub
 —
Hanto
 —
Kopi

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS



GENEALOGY OF TABAB, HUSBAND OF KHEIS



GENEALOGY OF THE TAAIBOSCH CHIEFS

Sources :

(i) the deposition of Massow Rijt Taaibosch at the Witgatboom Meeting in 1869. (B. C. 290-291) ;

(ii) the deposition of Petrus Rooy, a councillor of Jacob Taaibosch, at the same Meeting. (B. C. pp. 291-292) ;

(iii) Arbousset and Daumas, pp. 49-50. Their principal informant, it will be remembered, was Hanto ;

(iv) The Bloemhof Korana ;

(v) A document dated November 1870, in Lindley's *Adamantia*, pp. 10-13, which is signed by Massow Rijt Taaibosch himself ;

(vi) certain details about Jan Kaptein will be found in Rev. John Edwards' *Fifty years of Mission Life in South Africa*, pp. 109-110 ;

(vii) and *passim*, in the Bloemhof Commission Report and in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices and the Year's Reports of the same Society.

In the present lists, (i) the first part, has been obtained from Massow Rijt Taaibosch's deposition. The names provided with asterisks are from Petrus Rooy's deposition. The names of the descendants of Massow were given by my Bloemhof informants. The small list (ii) is drawn from Arbousset and Daumas.

This is the least satisfactory of all the lists given here. We have had occasion to remark on Massow's untrustworthiness in some respects (see the early history of the Korana). Stow, as we shall see, has complicated the problem by some unwarrantable blunders in his genealogy of the Taaibosch family, (*The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 298).

The Earlier Generations.

Massow gives one set of ancestors in (i) and Arbousset and Daumas another set in (ii). It may, however, be possible to reconcile them, if it is borne in mind that

(i) the French missionaries naturally used the French spelling ;

(ii) there was no adequate system of phonetic notation for the Native names, the clicks offering a special difficulty.

With these remarks in view, it is possible that

(a) *ktangy* may = *kuenonkei* (*p*)

kt represents here an unknown click, possibly a dental one, in the same way as *kuen* = *kn*, *ue* being a glide sound; the combination *kn* does not exist in French. The *g*=*k*, the second one of the French transcription, as *k* and *g* interchange in Korana. The difficulty is a nasal element of the click in the French transcription, possibly arising from the second nasal.

(b) *knaughoe* may = *konga* (*p*); and (c) *gauw* = *kau* (*p*).

If the above interpretation is correct, then Arbousset and Daumas must have been mistaken as to the direct line of descent of members of this list.

Stow has inverted the line of succession between *Eikomo* and *Kuebib* without any vestige of reason, for there is not a single word in Arbousset and Daumas, from whom he drew his information, to warrant any such inversion.

The Identity of Hanto = Jan Taaibosch = Jan Kaptein.

There can be no question that these three names denote the same man. The descriptions of *Hanto* in Arbousset and Daumas and of *Jan Kaptein* in Edwards show that both the one and the other are

(i) the Korana chief of Umpukani; (ii) thirty-three years of age; (iii) meet with the same manner of death, by a lion; (iv) have the same physical appearance; (v) are both pious, and these similarities are all the more striking, as the French missionaries actually saw and spoke to the man in 1836, and as Edwards was his missionary for a number of years.

Backhouse, in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Mauritius and South Africa*, p. 393, has an entry under July 1839, in his Journal: "This late chief Jan Kaptein Taaibosch, a pious man, was killed by a lion; his son (who) was receiving his education at Farmerfield, Albany." Two points are important here, (a) that the names Jan Kaptein Taaibosch are this time all three joined together to denote the same man; and (b) that both *Jan Kaptein Taaibosch* and the *Hanto* of Arbousset and Daumas had a young son.

Hanto came originally from Ramah on the Orange River, and lived for a time at Taungs. He and his brother Gert Taaibosch joined the Barolong chief Moroko, when he emigrated from Platberg on the Vaal to Thaba 'Nchu in 1834 (B. C. p. 263).

Here again Stow was under a misapprehension, when he made *Hanto* and *Jan Taaibosch* two different men, calling *Hanto* the father of

Kopi and *Jan Taaibosch* the father of *Gert Taaibosch*, the latter being in reality the brother of the former. (Cp. B. C. p. 263 "Captain Hantu, whom his brother Gert Taaibosch succeeded.")

Hans Taaibosch is the same person as *Kopi*, for the reigning chief in 1838 was *Hans Kaptein* (Papers relating to the Wesleyan Missions, LXXIII, September 1838, p. 2, and Report for the year 1840, pp. 61) and we know that the young Farmerfield student died at the end of 1839 or the beginning of 1840 (Shaw's Report in Report for the year 1840, p. 67).

Omissions.

(i) *Jacob Taaibosch*. He is mentioned as Jan Kaptein's brother by Edwards. At the Witgatboom meeting (1869) and also at Mamusa before Colonel Warren (1878) a *Jacob Taaibosch* appears (*Imperial Blue Book*. C. 2454, '79, p 33-34.) Whether the latter is the same as the brother of Jan Kaptein is not clear.

(ii) *Isaac Taaibosch*, mentioned by Petrus Rooy, as having succeeded *Hans*, (B. C. 293).

(iii) *Goliath Ysterbek*, the chief of the Bethany Hottentots. He is given by Massow Rijt Taaibosch (document in *Adamantia*) as a cousin of Jan Taaibosch. It is not clear whose descendant he is.

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS

Sources : Informants at Bloemhof ; supplemented by the publications of the Berlin Missionary Society (1848-1854). *Teteb*, *Tabab* and others gave details which are fully supported by these records.

gein !hareip, "great" or "old Hareip" is the "alte Hareip" of the *Berichte* (1850, p. 37, etc.) He is given as the father of Gert Links, the captain of Saron (1848-1854) and, when Johann Schmidt arrived, was already a very old man ("ein circa 90 jähriger Greis." B. M. B. 1851, p. 122), so that he must have been born about 1760 and been therefore one of the original Korana of the Orange River. If that is the case, he was already advanced in years in 1823, when Broadbent and Hodgson travelled in the Bloemhof district. It might not then be improbable to identify him with the chief *Chudeep*, "a venerable old man," about whom these missionaries speak so much. Phonetically, the identity can be explained, for, in the unsatisfactory rendering of the time, *ch* would represent a click, *-d-* would stand for the flapped retroflex consonant, which is heard by some as *l* and by others as *d* or *r*; and the *u* would be the obscure vowel, as the tone and stress are on the last

syllable. So that we have an unbroken record of the Links chiefs from 1823 to the present day in this genealogical list. According to the Bloemhof traditions, *geiy !hareip* died after 1854, the date of the breaking-up of the Saron Mission. This is not in disagreement with the *Berichte*.

Ouhanas, "old Hanna" is the pious "alte Hanna, die Frau des alten Hareip" (B.M.B. 1853, p. 85). Her grave is one of the three still extant on the site of the Saron Mission Station.

Gert Links, the captain of Saron (B.M.B. 1848-1854) was still alive in 1869, as he appeared at the Witgatboom meeting. He was then old and ill (B.C. p. 279 ; p. 292). He probably died shortly after.

Johannes Links deputised for his brother Gert at Witgatboom after the first day (B.C. p. 298). He was born near Bloemhof (B.C. 292) and was a much younger man. He succeeded his brother in the Chieftainship. He seems to have died shortly before 1878 (See Report of Sir C. Warren, *Imperial Blue Book* C. 3635, 83, p. 5). His grave is at Saron (See plate 4).

Hermanus Links succeeded his brother (not his father, as Warren says). He was the chief at the time of the differences between Warren and Brune (1878-1879). He died before the end of 1880 (*Imperial Bluebook*. C. 3114-'82. p. 86). There was another *Hermanus Links* who died in 1915, according to a letter, dated 11th February of that year, from H. Macleod, the Kimberley Law Agent of the Links, acknowledging that news of his death. (Ms. Private correspondence in the possession of *Teteb* of Bloemhof). He must=

Katsilib died at Cape Town, after fighting during the Great War (1915). He would have been the chief, if he had lived. *Teteb* is now looked upon as the *goaxaob*, although he has no longer the power nor the privileges of a chief.

Omissions :

Ursöb, the *Urson* of the *Berichte* and the *Oelson* of Chapman, the chief of the Links of Bamboes Spruit and Maquassie Spruit. The English traveller who met him on March 15th 1853, calls him the brother of Gert Links (Chapman, p. 128). It is not sure which Gert Links it is.

Matlabane's wife. She was a daughter of Gert Links the elder, i.e. *geiy !hareip*. *Matlabane* was a chief of the BaMairi (B.C. p. 292 ; 298). Her name is unknown.

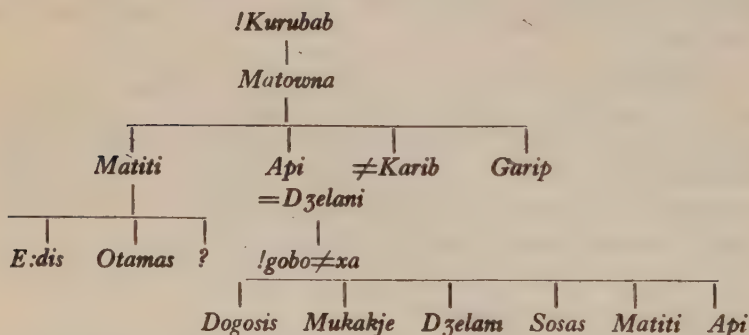
Finally, these members of the branch who appear in the *Berliner Missions Berichte*, 1851, pp. 122-123, but who were not mentioned by my Bloemhof informants:—(i) *Maria*, the sister of *geiy !hariep* ; (ii)

old *Rooy*, the eldest son of *gein !hariep*, a drunkard and ne'er-do-well. Was he the same as *Ursôb*? (iii) the unnamed daughter of *gein !hariep* and *Ouhanas*, who, according to the *Berichte*, was not the mother of *gein !hariep*'s sons.

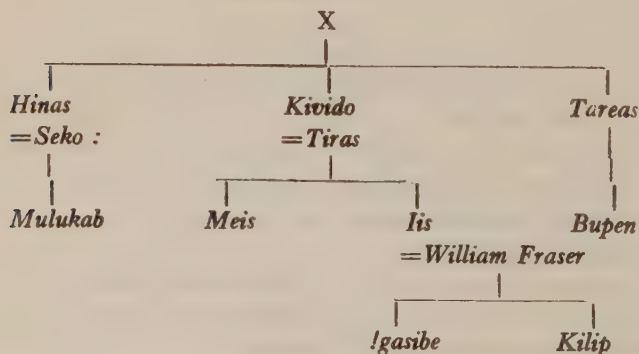
GENEALOGY OF TABAB

Habasisap's Dutch name was given to me as "Frans Viljoen." He must therefore be the same Frans Viljoen, "de Korana Kapitein" mentioned by Molitsane as being under him, to the two Free State emissaries Schneeage and Meyer when they visited him in 1859 (*Bas. Rec.* ii. p. 509). This is confirmed by the fact that *Tabab*'s birth-place was Senekal, near the then Basutoland border.

GENEALOGY OF MATITI AND !GOBO≠XA



GENEALOGY OF MEIS AND IIS



VIII. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF KORANA TRIBAL NAMES.

Wikar ⁽¹⁾	Albrecht ⁽²⁾	Campbell ⁽³⁾	Bloemhof ⁽⁴⁾
1. Namnykoa.	t'Kamanuqua.	{ Karossdrager "Weavers of Karosses or cloaks."	
2. { Kaukoa of Snyervolk.	{ t'Kontogqua oder 'Sneider.	{ Snyers "Cutters or taylors."	
3. Aukokoa.	{ t'Ogaqua oder "Naauwanger."	{ Naanarwangs "Narrowcheeks."	
4. { Kouringais "de Hoogekraal."	{ t'Qwoerigqua oder "Hoogneemer."	{ "Hoogtens "Heighis."	!Kuriŋ aikwa
5. { Husingais "Spinnedraad."	{ t'hoekyqua oder "Spinnekopper."	Spinnekopsooger.	
6. { Key korakkoa of "Groot dito."			Kei !korana.
7.	t'Ariwangkys.	{ Links staan "Standing to the left."	aremy ais.
8.	t'Hoengquiqua.	{ Springbokkers "Springbucks."	küb eikwa.
9.	t'Hoeaqua.	{ "Katmenchen." "Cat people."	hōay aina.
10.	{ t'Kouwuyqua oder "Zeekoeneem- mers."	{ Zeekoedragers "Bearer of seacows."	!kau aina.
11.	t'Amzaqua.		
12.		{ Toernaans "Wizards."	
13.			hūŋ eikwa.
14.	{ t'Noekijqua oder "Overkant- neemers."		

(1) G.M. ii. 17, 118, 124, 126, 128, 134. Date: 1778-1779.

(2) in Moritz. *Die älteste Reiseberichte in S.W. Afrika*. p. 99. Date: 1813.

(3) 1813. p. 282—four tribal names are left out in the above list.

(4) Bloemhof informants: *Tabab*, *Teteb*, *Kheis*, *Iis*. They did not give any more names, except the *däuse*, the *Barendse* or tribe of Barend, the Griqua chief.

The geographical position of some of the northern Korana tribes in the 19th century has already been indicated in the preceding pages, viz. The "Taaibosch" or *Kei !korana* at Schweizer Reneke and at Umpukani; the "Links" or *!aremy //ais* at Bloemhof; The "Springboks" or *!kûb //eikwa* at Pniel. It must be remembered, as has already been pointed out elsewhere ("The Lost Tribes of the Cape," *South African Journal of Science*, 1931 p. 495), that these geographical points are merely centres round which the tribes wandered.

The "Cat" tribe or *!hōaŋ //aina* got involved with Jan Bloem and some are still to be found near Pniel (cp. Meinhof, op. cit. p. 5). An official map of the Pniel-Hebron region, "in the Government Office at Bloemfontein," initialled by H. Green, the British resident, and by F. K. Hohne, the Government Secretary, places, for the period 1849-1850, the "Hoogstanders" or *!kuriŋ //ais*; the "Seekoes" or *!kau //aina* and the "Skerpioens" or *!hûŋ //eikwa* in the immediate vicinity of Pniel and Goliath Ysterbek, the chief of the "Right Hand" tribe, at Platberg.¹

The tribes 1-3 in the table are more properly the *Eynikkoa* or "River folk" of Wikar. Campbell included them in his "Different Tribes of Corannas on the Great River." This became the practice later, for they are called officially Korana in the Government Reports on Sir Walter Currie's campaign against them in 1868-1869, when "Korannaland" was created, and again in 1878-1879, when they were practically annihilated. (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book G. 61-'79). Even in 1875, their numbers were very small. D. Hook, Special Commissioner at Kenhardt, reported that there were only 120 to 140 under the two chiefs Klaas Lucas and Pofadder. (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book on Native Affairs C.A. 19.'75 p. 52-53).

This table is also of philological interest. It is a testimony to the disfigurement suffered by the Korana names in the attempt to transcribe them with inadequate phonetic symbols. Wikar renders the clicks with *k* and has no indication before *n*, *a* and *h*; Albrecht with *t'k* or *t'q*, etc., being probably inspired here by Sparrman's or Lichtenstein's *t'*. Campbell, whose transcription and perhaps hearing of all Native words is extremely imperfect, has mangled beyond hope even the Dutch names, for he does not attempt the Korana ones.

Finally, it should be noted here that *//ais* means "tribe"; *//aina* is its plural form and *-kwa* is the plural mas. suffix.

¹ Imperial Blue Book. C. 508-'72, Map facing p. 56.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KORANA.*

BY J. F. MAINGARD, B.SC.

A. INTRODUCTORY

During the month of February 1932, I was fortunate enough to have the opportunity of making anthropological measurements on several members of the Links tribe of Korana Hottentots at Bloemhof.

These measurements are the more interesting because the actual physical characters of the Korana and their relationship to other South African peoples have been matters of considerable speculation within recent years. No writer on the Korana has denied that culturally and linguistically the Korana are Hottentots, and the general consensus of opinion seems to be that anthropologically also they are similar to other Hottentots. Yet there are some writers who maintain that there are certain other elements entering into the composition of the Korana. Thus according to Broom (1 and 2) the Korana "appear to be Hottentots who have acquired some strain of Negroid blood and a considerable strain from some Australoid (sic) race." In *Nature* of 1929, Broom (3) attempts to differentiate the Hottentots from the Korana. He writes: "The Hottentot and Korana are very distinct from the Bush. . . typical Hottentots are not improbably the primitive race contaminated by a considerable Bushman admixture while the Korana are apparently nearer to the primitive type, but with a considerable Australoid element." Two years afterwards we find a seeming contradiction of Broom's theory of Australoid admixture in the Korana in the following statement by Dreyer (4): "Disregarding those Australoids found up to the present in South Africa the Australoid character of which is sought in one or two features only, one need only consider one skull seriously, viz. that described by Drennan" (5), (i.e. the Cape Flats skull). From this statement of Dreyer's it appears that the distinction drawn by Broom between Korana and Hottentots is not generally accepted. In *Nature*

*I wish to record my indebtedness for assistance more particularly to Professor R. A. Dart, who helped me with books and instruments and whose kindly criticisms proved invaluable, to Mr. L. H. Wells for much helpful information, to Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé for allowing me access to her library, to Miss Wilman, the Director of the Kimberley Museum, and to my father, Professor L. F. Maingard.

of 1929 also, speaking of the Springbok Flats man, then newly discovered, Broom (6) regards the Korana as the direct descendants and modern representatives of the Springbok Flats type; yet Keith (7) in 1931 says of this same Springbok Flats type "He was a tall strong fellow with a big brain, and a long and wide head, a drawn out face, great mandible and small teeth—a type which we cannot fit into any African type known to us."

From my experience the Korana can hardly be said to conform to Keith's description of the Springbok Flats individual, but it is possible that some of them may show such features. In any case Keith's description of that skull is not in accordance with what Broom describes for his typical "Australoid" Korana!

Allen (8) tentatively advances the suggestion that the intrusion of the Australoid element into the Korana is due to admixture with Bushmen and that such a strain "may be found mixed with all the Yellow-skinned (i.e. Bush-Hottentot) peoples of South Africa."

Schapera (9) says that "the Korana skulls appear to be somewhat separated from those of other Hottentot tribes, and resemble more closely those of the Bantu-speaking Negroes of South-Central Africa (i.e. the Bechuana) with whom they have been in contact for a long time, but they also approximate on the whole, *more* towards the Bushman type of skull." This is a quotation from Shrubsall which is somewhat ambiguous. Schapera quotes Broom as one of his sources, but makes no mention of Australoid characters in the Korana. No measurements are given.

Further he says "Most (Hottentot) skulls are cryptozygous but among the Korana, mesozygous and phaenozygous are also found," and again "the cephalic index, owing to the greater length and lesser breadth of the Hottentot skulls is definitely dolichocephalic, especially in the Korana skulls." This seems to show that he agrees with Shrubsall in regarding Hottentots and more especially Korana as characterised by a mixture of Bantu and Bush features. He also adds that the Korana mandible as contrasted with that of the other Hottentots, resembles the mandible of the South-Eastern Bantu. Nevertheless he seems to think that still another element contributed to the physical structure of the Hottentot but refrains from committing himself as to its nature.

Sollas (10) apparently considers the Korana as negroids although he is not very explicit. Drennan (11) in his discussion of Bush and Hottentot does not mention them at all. Dart (12) in a general survey of South African Anthropology says "Investigations . . . have not in my opinion

revealed any satisfactory means of separating the Bushmen from the Hottentots physically." He therefore believes it more serviceable for the present "to regard the Bushmen, Hottentot and Strandlooper as members of one and the same racial group, i.e. the Bush race." Without making specific mention of the Korana, he states that the work of Broom and Allen has revealed the presence and wide distribution of an Australoid element in the Native races of South Africa. This appears to be the most logical way of regarding the matter. Hence it would not seem that Australoid features are *peculiar* to the Korana.

On examining the literature to find what ground exists for these statements about the Korana, no data derived from known living or dead Korana could be found.

As making statements about the Korana, before any anthropometric survey of certifiable specimens was available, seemed to me to be somewhat precarious, I availed myself of the opportunity to examine some living Korana of known parentage to see whether they agreed in physical characters with the published statements.

The foregoing review clearly shows the rather unsatisfactory state of our knowledge of the physical anthropology of the Korana. It is therefore important to gather all relevant information which may lead to a real understanding of the physical nature of these people.

Elsewhere in this volume, cultural, linguistic and musical data concerning them have been discussed, and judged according to these standards, there is no doubt that *the Korana are Hottentots*. In the next portion of our study we shall turn our attention to the earliest descriptions of the Korana, to see if new light may be derived from them. The historical method of approach, although seldom used by anthropologists, happens to be of undoubted value in this instance.

It is however essential while discussing the historical evidence to bear in mind the defects inherent in the mode and time of its collection.

In the first place those old observers were not trained anthropologists,—anthropology had not yet been established as a science—nor with very few exceptions, such as Lichtenstein or Holub, were they even medical men. Hence we cannot expect to find any precise anatomical descriptions, but only those of a general and superficial character,—those relating to the colouring or the more striking external features—information in which one may trust the faithful observer, although here and there individual differences in terminology may exist. But when there is a series of corroborative observations, drawn from different authors regard-

ing these external features, their cumulative effect are such as to produce evidence which can be regarded as sound and acceptable. Fortunately the cultural and general ethnological differences between Bantu, Hottentot and Bushman were sufficiently marked to be recognisable by ordinary men like the early travellers. Hence the reliability of this evidence. This is especially true of the information about interbreeding which assumes great importance in the case of the Korana. Although interbreeding was noticed and commented upon by some of the authors, in the case of certain Chwana chiefs, it was not usually a phenomenon of sufficient interest to them to be worthy of detailed consideration. Indeed, in the casual recording of such events scattered through the books, we must not expect the author to have been impressed with the scientific importance of his story nor will we expect to find systematic statistical data in an age when the importance of such data was as yet unrealised. The chief value of this class of information from the physical anthropological standpoint lies in the evidence supplied of inter-tribal contacts at early periods, with suggestions and, occasionally, actual mention of the occurrence of interbreeding. The historical evidence will be corroborated (in the case of the Links Korana) in the examination, at a later stage of this study, of their physical characteristics. They will be found to be extremely hybridised, despite the fact that the Links were unquestionable "Hottentots." The majority of the group in question may not however show to-day the same amount of "typical Hottentot" features, as they seem to have done in former times.

B. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF RACIAL ADMIXTURE AMONGST THE KORANA

In the records there is ample proof of racial impurity caused by interbreeding, in so far as the whole Korana race—and not merely the Links division—is concerned. That impurity is due to contact with Bantu, Bush and Griqua (to a lesser degree). The evidence of mixture is afforded by the writings of the old travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who have enabled us to fill out the picture of Korana racial history and to extend it beyond the limits set by present-day investigation, from which alone we might infer but could not actually prove our story.

1. With Bantu :

When we come to consider the historical data, we find that it presents us with an unbroken chain of evidence stretching from the earliest times to the present day, all testifying to the early commencement and steady

progress of Bantu-Korana hybridisation, although there is no question anywhere in this earlier literature, in spite of this hybridisation, concerning the Korana being Hottentots. Wikar (1778) (13) was the first white man known to describe the Korana as a separate group to us. Even in his time the process of hybridisation was already taking place. In his "dagverhaal" (diary) he mentions the "tweeling volk," a tribe of mixed Bechuana-Korana ancestry, some of whom lived with the Korana, some with the Bechuana, and they intermarried with both, "daarom zyn der veel verbasterd," as he puts it.

That such a mixed bastardised tribe of considerable importance already existed at that time, shows that intermixture had begun at least two generations before Wikar arrived there, if not earlier.

Subsequent authors, while not always discussing intermarriage, all agree in that they substantially confirm these facts. The Government commissioners Truter and Somerville (1801) (14) even go so far as to say that "what the Gonacqua are to the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana seem to be to the Northward, a mixed breed between the Hottentot and the Kaffir."

Another expression of what was happening is Lichtenstein's statement that "many of the Bechuana understand the Korana language" (1805) (15), while Burchell (1811-12) (16), and Campbell (1813, 1820) (17) both say that they found Korana and Bechuana living together in close association.

Thompson (1823) (18) tells us even more definitely that the "Korana lived in close alliance with the Betchuana" and cites an instance of a Korana woman married to a Bechuana (see below).

Coming closer to our own times we find much interesting information of the same kind in the communications of various missionaries who came into contact with the Korana during the nineteenth century. The missionary Lemué (1840) (19) for instance, speaks of Korana and Bechuana living together at Mamusa (the residence of the Taaibosch tribe), and Schmidt (1847) (20) states the same of the Links tribe then living at the Bloemhof Saltpan.

Travellers in these regions during the middle of the 19th century seem to have been much impressed by the mixed nature of the Korana as shown by their physical features. Chapman (21) fell in with some Korana on the Valsch River and says of them "the inhabitants seem to have a mixture of Hottentot, Bushmen and Kaffir blood, their features being more akin to the Hottentot—flat noses, wide mouths and thick lips,

high and protruding cheek-bones and small eyes." Anderson (see later) who was there ten years later, mentions admixture with Bushman blood only.

From the accounts of later authors, however, we gather that the immediate contact of and occurrence of intermarriage between Korana and Bechuana was a well known fact and caused little surprise. It was rather taken for granted (see e.g. Holub (22), and Bloemhof Commission Report (23)).

Such a close relationship of the two tribes, resulted as we have seen, in a good deal of intermarriage taking place, and on examining the literature, we find several cases actually quoted.

In the first place we have Wikar's story (see above) where a whole tribe resulting from such mixed unions is spoken of. Then we have Thompson (op. cit.) who mentions *Mahuta*, daughter of a Kora chieftain, and wife of *Motibe*, headman of the Batlaping tribe. There is also the case of *Matlabane*, cited in the Bloemhof Commission's Report (23), whose great-grandmother and whose wife were both Korana women. The Korana chief *Massow* at the Witgatboom meeting (1869) states that "*Mashua*, a Batlaping, married a Korana woman. . . . The Batlaping and Korana lived together at Nokananie in consequence of that marriage. . . . They fought after that they intermarried and so it comes that *Motive* (i.e. Motibe, see above) and many others are the children of Korana women. Molehaban too. Matlaban's great-grandfather is also from a Korana woman."

But it is to be noted that such intermixture seems from the above mainly to have been on the side of the Bechuana. No instance is given of a Korana man marrying a Bechuana woman although we know that this does occur at the present day. No. 4 (see table of measurements) is the son of a Links father and a Chuana mother.

2. *With Bushmen :*

We must not forget that during this period the Korana were mixing freely with their other neighbours as well (see Burchell, Chapman, etc, loc. cit.)

Campbell for instance when on his first journey to South Africa, records under date September 3rd "In his kraal (*Cornelius Kok's* kraal, that is) there are Orlams, Coranas, and Bushmen." In August 1813 he estimated the number of Korana at Griquatown and in the surrounding districts under the protection of the Griqua as 1341, making the total of

Griqua and Korana 2607. *Hareena* the then chief of the Links tribe actually told Campbell in 1820 that "Coranna men frequently marry Bushwomen."

In 1837 the process was still going on, for we learn from a select committee on South African aborigines of this period that "the numbers of the Griqua were swollen by many refugees, among them being Korana and Bushmen."

Nearly sixty years after Campbell, Anderson (24) says that "there are many Hottentots, Koranna and Bushmen living along the river banks. They have so intermixed by marriage that there is little difference between them. Some are of the opinion that the Korana are the true Hottentots but the people as a general rule are taller and of a lighter colour than the real (sic) Cape Hottentots, but as I have stated from the intermarriages, it is difficult to draw the line."

As for the Cape Hottentots Anderson speaks of, they were by that time already so mixed with Negro, Malay and even White blood that we cannot really rely on his use of them as a standard of comparison with the Korana.

Also more recently in Meinhof (25) we have the statement from the lips of an old Korana, *Benjamin Kats*, that his people frequently took Bushwomen to wife.

3. *With Griqua :*

When they came upon the scene, the Griqua (themselves very mixed as the above quotations show) also helped, though to a somewhat lesser extent, to destroy any racial purity to which the Korana as a people might have pretended. In this connection it is interesting to read that the Griqua chief *Waterboer* numbered Korana among his subjects as well as Griqua and a few Bantu (see Bloemhof Commission's Report (23)).

The Bloemhof Commission Report is a veritable mine of information concerning the prevalence of racial admixture between all the racial stocks in that region. Were it not for the limitations of space many more references from this source, all bearing on our problem, could be quoted. Those interested in the matter are referred to that document more particularly.

As far as the Korana are concerned the effects of this intermixture, with the Bantu at any rate, seems to have been at first of a very gradual nature, for it did not manifest itself in the external appearance of the

Korana until fairly recently, that is if we are to rely upon the evidence of Daniell and Burchell. The artist Daniell who accompanied Truter and Somerville on their journey to the Bechuana in 1801 was the first to depict the Korana. He portrays several very light-coloured individuals of both sexes with high cheek-bones and faces coming to a point at the chin, in fact persons indistinguishable from the "typical Hottentot." So also does Burchell (14).

It is not till we come closer to our own times that we find a trained scientist, G. Fritsch, (27) turning his attention to the influence of Bush and Bantu blood on the physical anthropology of the Korana.

The chapter on the Korana in his classical work "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas," still in many respects the best general work available on South African anthropology, shows that he clearly recognises the admixture in their physical characters. He emphasises his conclusion that they are basically "Hottentots," even if they do not show the typical characters (*merkmale*) so well as the true "Colonial" Hottentots or the Namaqua.

Summary

The sum total of the historical evidence is that the Korana are "Hottentots"; that they have mixed and intermarried with their Bantu and Bushman neighbours for as long as we have any record and even before this, but that this intermixture was apparently not sufficiently manifested in their external appearance to be commented upon till well on in the 19th century.

There is also ground in the literature for asserting that the Links tribe mixed more freely with the Bushmen than did the other tribes of the Korana people.

Still it is impossible to make any definite statement about the physical anthropology of the Korana before 1872, nor is it possible to assess with any degree of accuracy even the relative amount of intermixture that has taken place from the historical data alone, owing to the lack of statistical and somatometrical evidence in the documents we have just reviewed.

We can, however, be certain that they are not a pure race. They have mixed freely with Bushmen and Bantu for the last 200 years at least. To what extent that admixture has proceeded only physical data can now supply a clue.

We will therefore have to rely on observation of the Korana as he is to-day for any quantitative information as opposed to qualitative.

Hitherto I have used the term "Hottentot" without in any way defining the type, and I think that it would be as well to indicate before going any further, the meaning of this term, so that it can serve us as a criterion of the racial affinities of the Links. The best definition available is one by Fritsch (27), which seems to be a combination of his historical researches and his own observations :—" The general character of the Koi-koin (i.e., Hottentots), is that of a people with a characteristically fallow, yellow-brown skin colour, very matted, twisted hair, narrow forehead, high cheek-bones, a pointed chin, of middling height, and of slender, though good build, with small hands and feet ; the skull is platystenocephalic."

Such a description agrees on the whole with the Hottentots described and depicted by Daniell, Burchell and other travellers.

The Rev. George Schmidt of Genadendal (28) has left us a description of the Hottentots of his time which is substantially the same, though not so full as Fritsch's : "*Die Statur ist verschieden, jedoch mehrentheils klein, die Farbe rötlich, im Gelbliche spielend ; die Haar wie schwarze Wolle ; die Lippen vortstehend ; die Nase platt, wie den Mohren.*" So that we can continue to use this term as it has been used by Europeans from very early times to indicate the people whose language differentiated them from the Bantu on the one hand and the Bushmen on the other. But if we are to give this term any physical anthropological meaning we must necessarily have before us the Hottentots as defined by Fritsch, and described and depicted both by Fritsch and by these old travellers such as Daniell, Le Vaillant and others.

Here, however, a difficulty arises. We can easily differentiate the Bantu from the Bushmen and Hottentots ; whether the Bushman is physically the same as the Hottentot or not, is more difficult to say, the evidence on this point being somewhat inconclusive.

The authors we have discussed above differentiated between the two races as far as language, culture, and external appearance went. The earliest settlers and travellers on the other hand, did not apparently consider the Bushmen as a separate race (29), and this is in accordance with modern practice (see Dart (12) and Shrubbsall (30)).

Sparrman (31) was the first to give us any idea that such a distinction could be drawn, and among later writers we find Fritsch (27) and especially Broom (3) maintaining that the Bushman is of quite a different physical conformation to the Hottentot.

I do not propose to go into this question in any detail, but I think that for the purpose of this study the " Bush type " as defined by Drennan

(11) and Gear (32), which may or may not be co-extensive with the Bushman proper in its distribution, can be regarded as sufficiently distinguished from the Hottentot both in form and features to be recognisable when it occurs in a Hottentot tribe. The average Links Korana is found (see later) to be practically identical with this "Bush type."

A Korana may be defined as a person definitely known to belong to the Korana division of the Hottentots.

This brings me to the matter of nomenclature. It does not seem to me justifiable to use such terms as Hottentot, Bushman, and Korana, without any qualification. They are linguistic and cultural terms after all, and such terms rarely correspond exactly enough with the racial group to eliminate all possible sources of confusion. Recognising these difficulties, previous writers, e.g. Shrubsall (30) and Laing (37) have used the term "San" race as an alternative to "Bush" race.

A specific instance of the confusion made possible in this way is seen in the fact that the Korana have been described as "Australoid Hottentots," yet we shall see subsequently that one group of them is somatometrically indistinguishable from the "Bush type."

It is therefore most convenient for the present to use the terms referred to in the perhaps loose, yet understandable manner in which they have been defined above.

C. PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME MEMBERS OF THE LINKS KORANA

What I have discovered by personal observation corroborates the historical evidence in all points but one. I find that the Bantu, who as we have seen played an important part in the history of the Korana, had little influence on the physical conformation of the Links tribe. They mixed, indeed, but the mixture seems to have affected the Bantu more than it did the Links branch of the Korana, for it is plain to see from their general appearance that the Batlaping have a good deal of Kora blood in them (see *passim* historical review, p. 127). The Bantu has been submergerd in these "Hottentots."

1. *External Appearance*

Data on external appearance are of some value as indications of what we may expect to find from measurements, especially as they are scattered through the earlier literature from which measurements are absent. Take skin colour. The range of variation of this character in the

present-day Korana of the Links tribe alone is clear evidence for the mixed ancestry of these people. In this respect some are indistinguishable from the dark brown (almost black) of the Bantu, others retain the original yellowish-brown colouring of the Hottentot so well depicted by Daniell (26).

Most of those examined were yellow-brown to dark brown in colour. Some, but not many, showed the reddish tinge which Fritsch considers to be especially common among the Korana: "*Sein auch können rötlichen variatäten häufiger bei den Koranna vorals sonst, ohne dass gerade der Verdacht einer Beimischung fremde Blutes ersichtlich zu sein brauchte.*" (27).

According to him they are very similar in skin colour to other Hottentots, i.e. "a muddy, yellow-brown (fahler, gelb-brauner Hautfarbe) —Nos. 4 and 5 of his skin colour tables, but on the whole somewhat darker ("*etwas dunkler.*") No. 6 is the yellow tint noticeably tinged with red, which he says is more often seen among the Korana. His tables, however, do not show quite enough yellow in their background to correspond exactly with the shades seen in the skin of living Hottentots observed by myself except for very dark individuals showing traces of Bantu admixture. One still sees to-day Korana of very light coloration. There were many more light coloured Korana formerly. Fritsch himself says that the Hottentots were originally light coloured. This we see in Daniell's pictures of Korana subjects painted in 1801. He again has a shade too much yellow in his pictures to portray Korana of the present-day, but we are entitled to assume that his drawings represent accurately what the average Korana looked like 150 years ago when most of them showed the Hottentot features regarded as typical by him.

That Truter and Somerville (loc. cit.), both members of the same expedition as Daniell, described the Korana of this period as very mixed is not inconsistent with Daniell's portrayal of Korana types. It is justifiable to presume that he would choose for that portrayal those subjects who were most typical of the people he was dealing with.

Most descriptions up to 1872 (cf. Burchell, Anderson loc. cit.) agree in calling the Korana light-coloured. Then again Holub (22) in 1872 says that they vary in complexion from "dull black to deep brown," and in another place he speaks of the "yellow-brown countenances of the Korana." Two such contradictory statements may mean anything and it is best to rely on the careful observations of Fritsch who, at the same date as we have seen, thinks them not unlike other Hottentots in skin-colour.

Hence although we cannot be sure just when the impurity of the Korana owing to mixture was first noted in their external features, we can put it approximately at the beginning of the 19th century.

Nearly all the subjects examined showed signs of "Bush" admixture in their external appearance—rather dark in colour, but not so dark as the Bantu, short in stature, with small hands and feet, the typical peppercorn arrangement of the hair, wrinkled face with high cheek-bones and square angular outline, with little prognathism when seen in profile, and the lips not unduly thickened. Steatopygia was present in all the women seen, with the exception of one who was of mixed Griqua-Korana descent.

Two individuals, a man and a woman, were not so characteristically Bushman in appearance. They were light complexioned, but taller with comparatively large heads. The man (No. 6) had a well-developed supra-orbital torus, but the measurements taken show that he also had "Bush" characters.

Fritsch clearly recognises the complex of Bush and Bantu elements in the Boshof Korana. He differentiates two types, one fairly tall and well-built, the original "Hottentot" type, and the other small, misshapen, approaching more nearly to the Bushman in appearance. He also describes a type due to the admixture of Bantu blood: "*Auch Kafferblut ist in jetziger Zeit wohl in beträchtlicher Menge unter ihnen vertreten*," giving as an example of this last *Zwart Jaan*, chief of the Boshof Korana. Except for the darkening of skin colour in some of them, Bantu characteristics are not conspicuously shown in the members of the Links tribe examined.

2. *Skeletal Characteristics*

Only three workers have hitherto published data concerning the skeletal characteristics of supposed Korana. Fritsch (1872) (27) only gives details of two skulls and two skeletons from Boshof which may or may not be Korana. Shrubbsall (1897) (33) does not go into the subject very fully, he contents himself with touching on a few points in which Korana skulls of uncertain origin, as he himself admits (30), differ slightly from other "Hottentots," presumably he says, because of Bantu influence. Lastly, Broom (1923) (1), whose material from graves (not confirmed as those of Korana) is doubtful, if Dreyer is to be believed (34). Allen's Australoid skull from Mistkraal (8) is, of course, not Korana, because the Korana were never known to be in the neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth. The possession of Australoid features is not necessarily a characteristic of

the Korana as such, Australoid features being widely distributed throughout South African tribes, as Allen himself, Dart and others have shown (cf. Grootfontein "Bush" skull and the Snyderskraal skull mentioned in Allen's paper).

The data tabulated here (vide table) are from measurements made on living Korana of the Links tribe, taken according to directions contained in Stibbe (35) and Drennan (11). I have appended Fritsch's measurements and some figures from Shrubsall for comparison. My results differ somewhat from Fritsch's, possibly owing to the fact that his are from the skeleton and not the living subject, or more probably because they are drawn from another tribe—the Boshof Korana. But as neither Fritsch nor Shrubsall make any attempt to show that their material is of undoubted Korana origin I do not know how far such comparison is valid.

Out of the score of adult Korana we found, eleven were actually measured—of the eleven subjects examined, seven are, as far as we know, of "pure" Korana parentage, two are of mixed Griqua-Korana, one of Korana-Bechuana, and one of Nama-Korana descent. No. 2 is a supposed Korana skull, which I was enabled to measure through the kind offices of the Rev. H. R. Higgs of Bloemhof, from Schweizer-Reinecke, one of the last strongholds of the Korana. A study of the data given here reveals that the subjects examined, while not conforming to our definition of a typical "Hottentot" yet share certain features in common. Thus the cephalic index shows *mesaticephaly* bordering on dolichocephaly, three (Nos. 5, 7, and 13) of them are actually on the dolichocephalic side. Nos. 5 and 7 are "pure," No. 13 being of mixed descent. It will be noticed that No. 9, of Griqua-Korana parentage has a high cephalic index.

The cranial height index (length-height index) is more variable. Most of those examined were *orthocephalic*, one (No. 1) *chamaecephalic*, and three (Nos. 6, 10 and 11), all "pure" Korana, were *hypsicephalic* individuals (Nos. 6 and 11) were, as we have seen, not so characteristically "Bush" in their physiognomy, and also show some slight differences from the others in skeletal characteristics, e.g. the greater cranial capacity consequent on the larger dimensions of the head, the presence of a supra-orbital torus in the man, and their greater stature as compared with the other members of their group. These divergences may be Boskopoid or Australoid affinities, but we are scarcely justified in thus describing them until after further investigation. The upper facial index is uniformly *chamaeprosopic*.

Owing to practical difficulties of measurement the nasal index is seen to vary over a wide range but is definitely platyrrhine in all but three cases, (Nos. 6, 8 and 9), one of whom is of mixed descent. Cranial capacities were calculated by means of the Lee-Pearson formula corrected by the addition of 200 cc. (Drennan op. cit.) The figures obtained show a relatively low capacity, all were microcephalic, except the two largest (Nos. 6 and 11), which were mesocephalic. In stature the Links individuals are short, the tallest not exceeding 5' 6" in height, the average for the group is about 5' 3". The Intermembral index was calculated from direct limb measurements. Indices ranging between 72.1 and 87.5 were obtained for Links. Such results in the Korana are remarkable, for, according to Drennan (11), this index in the human race does not go higher than 83, the index for the Pygmy, and in the Bushman it only reaches 67.

To sum up, we may say that, according to this material, the average Links Korana of to-day is a mesaticephalic, microcephalic, platyrrhine, orthocephalic, chamaeprosopic individual, of short stature and fairly dark complexion. He shows little prognathism or eversion of the lips. In fact he is essentially the same in form and features as the type we have learnt to call the "Bush type."

This short resumé of the chief physical features of the Links group should be contrasted with Shrubsall's description of the "typical Hottentot" skull—"a true Hottentot skull may be briefly described as dolichocephalic, akrocephalic, leptoprosopic, mesoseme, platyrrhine, and leptostaphylinic" (33).

If Shrubsall's "Hottentot" standard is to be accepted, it follows that these Links Korana, in spite of the fact that they are Hottentots, are anatomically speaking not Hottentots, but are Bushmen.

The position we have reached then is this:—that in the published work of the three earlier writers on the physical anthropology of the Korana, there is nothing to show that their material was of unquestionable Korana origin.

Hence investigation of persons or skeletal material of definitely known Korana origin is necessary to discover what the skeletal characters of the Korana really are. We know from the historical evidence that the modern Korana are extremely bastardised. They nevertheless did, and some of them still do, present typical "Hottentot" features as defined above. The typical "Hottentot" features persisted in one woman seen at Bloemhof, whom I was unable to measure. She was so like a subject

of Daniell's, that she could almost have stepped out of the pages of his sketch-book. Her skin was of olive-yellow tint, her face was broad with high cheek-bones, coming to a point at the chin which was so characteristic of the Hottentot of the earlier descriptions. Nevertheless from the somatometrical evidence (i.e. from investigation of a group of definitely known Korana), we can refer *most* of these particular Korana to the "Bush type." They do not conform to the definitions laid down both here and by Shrubsall for a "typical Hottentot."

This may be because (1) of the known Bushman admixture in the Links, or because (2) the typical Hottentot has not been accurately described.

We may rely on the evidence relating to the external features of the "typical Hottentot," for, as we have seen elsewhere, it has been extensively corroborated.

We cannot be so sure about the evidence relating to skeletal characteristics. In information derived from skeletal material a possible source of error may exist. There is no way of knowing in a good many cases the actual origin of such material. The investigator has to take it on trust, unless the pre-burial history is accurately known.

It is in deciding questions that might otherwise be in doubt that field work is so desirable in South Africa.

L. Schultze (36) investigated the external appearance of the "Nama Hottentots" in this way, but unfortunately took no measurements. His results go to show that the Namaqua are also very mixed in their features showing both Bushman and Bantu traits. He mentions that prominent eyebrow-ridges are found in the Nama also.

The presence of two persons among the Links (Nos. 5 and 6) having well-marked eyebrow-ridges, confirms Broom in ascribing "Australoid" features to *some* of the Korana, but in view of Schultze's findings among the Namaqua and the fact that such features have been found elsewhere amongst Bushmen, the possession of Australoid features is not to be considered characteristic of or even common in these Links Korana. These features could have been brought into the Korana by such "Australoid Bushmen," especially as both Links showing eyebrow ridges were Bushmanoid. There is even a possibility that they are Boskopoids. A surprising fact that emerges from these considerations is that there is little trace of Bantu influence apparent in the physical structure of the Links. Yet we know from the historical facts that they have lived in close alliance with the Bechuana for many years.

This may be explained in terms of heredity. There is unpublished evidence (by Mr. L. H. Wells of the Witwatersrand University Department of Anatomy) in regard to the brain in hybrids between Bushman and Bantu, to show that "Bush" features act as Mendelian dominants while the Bantu characters of convolution and general form are recessive.

On the other hand the apparent lack of Bantu features among the Links may be explained by the following considerations.

The Bechuana took Korana women for wives¹, but there is no proof that the Korana took Bechuana women for wives² to any large extent. The children of a Bechuana father and a Korana mother were naturally incorporated within the Bantu tribe. Hence the extensive Korana admixture in the Batlaping tribe. Similarly the Korana took Bush women for wives, but we do not know that Bushmen took Korana women for wives.

Hence we may suppose that the Bechuana became, as it were, "Korana-ised," and the Links Bushmanised but not "Bantu-ised."

We are thus led to the conclusion that to-day the Links division of the Korana are most akin to the Bushman in structure. We cannot say with certainty what they were like physically in former times. They may always have presented the features which they now present, i.e. they may always have belonged to the "Bush type." On the other hand they may not, and this latter seems to be the more logical conclusion in view of the fact that the earlier portrayals and descriptions that we have of the Korana, show us persons unlike either Bushman or Bantu in appearance, and this argument is strengthened by the discovery of such, even if isolated, persons in our own times.

But it must be remembered that the distinction drawn in the above paragraph applies only to external appearance; we do not yet know whether it is reflected in the skeletal characteristics of such "Hottentot" types, and I must, for the present, agree with Dart that as far as these particular Hottentots are concerned "investigations have not" as yet "revealed any means of separating the Bushman from the Hottentot physically."

Finally, it should be pointed out that the conclusions arrived at here cannot be considered final for the other Korana tribes until further investigations by the same method as has been used here, have been carried out on a larger number of subjects than was available at the time.

¹ See historical section.

² One such case occurred among the subjects examined. Another case has been recorded by J. Schmidt in the B.M.B. 1851, p. 123.

This sketch is only a stepping-stone which, it is hoped, will lead to further somatometrical research not only upon the Korana but the other living races and tribes of South Africa -- a subject the fringe of which has so far only been touched.

D. SUMMARY

1. The work of earlier writers on Korana anthropology is reviewed and criticised. So far there has been considerable theoretical discussion and insufficient investigation of known Koranas.

(2) Historical evidence is adduced to show that the Korana, once described as "pure Hottentots," are now extensively infiltrated with Bush and Bantu elements.

(3) The external appearance of eleven members of the Links tribe of Korana is briefly discussed and is also shown to point to racial impurity.

(4) The available skeletal characteristics of Links Korana are discussed. This group is shown to be mainly of "Bush type" in these respects.

(5) There is no evidence apart from the effects of this extensive admixture with Bush and Bantu, that the Korana differ appreciably from other "Hottentots" in skeletal characteristics.

(6) The matter of nomenclature is discussed. Faulty nomenclature and methods of research have, up to now, led to confusion in this subject. The importance of field work and the necessity for exact identification of the material under examination is emphasised.

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ANTHROPOMETRICAL TABLE

No. and Sex	Tribe (parentage)	Head		Face		Nose		Limbs		Indices					Cranial capacity			
		L	B	Auricular height	Bi-zyg. width	Upper F. length	Total F. length	L	B	Upper	Lower	Total height (standing)	Cephalic	Upper facial		Cranial height	Nasal	Inter-membral
1 ♂	NxK	19.5	14.9	10.3	13.2	4.25	10.5	3.1	3.8	—	—	1647	76.5	40	53	122	—	1290
2 ♀	K?	17.5	13.3	10.7	13.0	5.55	9.95	4.2	2.7	—	—	—	74.5	42	62	64	—	1175
3 ♂	KxB	19.1	14.95	12.0	12.9	4.7	9.85	3.9	3.9	69.35	84.35	1549	78	36	63	100	82.3	1322
4 ♂	K	19.2	15.00	12.2	13.8	4.7	9.6	3.9	4.3	79.70	91.25	1671	78	34	63	110	87.5	1342
5 ♂	K	19.75	14.9	11.9	13.5	5.35	8.9	4.2	4.5	73.25	92.25	1571	75	40	60	107	79.4	1343
6 ♂	K	19.4	14.9	12.4	12.9	5.7	11.2	4.4	4.0	69.00	93.50	1616	77	44	64	91	73.7	1369
7 ♂	K	19.4	14.6	11.2	13.35	5.1	10.1	3.8	4.1	71.50	93.00	1567	75	38	60	108	76.9	1247
8 ♂	K	19.3	14.9	11.7	13.4	5.5	10.5	4.2	3.65	63.15	84.20	1466	77	41	61	87	75.0	1303
9 ♂	GxK	19.1	15.5	11.45	13.8	5.7	10.85	4.5	3.4	70.75	87.75	1547	81	41	60	76	80.6	—
10 ♀	K	18.6	14.6	12.4	12.95	4.8	9.9	3.5	4.1	67.75	94.00	1577	78.5	37	66	117	72.1	1275
11 ♀	K	19.6	15.5	12.6	13.7	4.9	9.6	3.6	3.6	71.75	99.00	1674	79	37	64	100	72.5	1433
13 ♀	KxG	18.3	13.8	11.4	12.7	4.5	9.6	3.65	3.75	70.50	94.00	1604	75.4	35	60	103	75.0	1107
17 ♂	K?	18.6	13.5	13.4*	12.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	72.6	—	—	—	—	1305
18 ♂	K?	18.9	12.45	13.2*	12.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	65.9	—	—	—	—	1230
19 ♂	K?	19.3	14.0	13.4*	—	—	—	4.8	2.7	—	—	—	72.5	—	69.4	56.3	—	1490
*Average Korana" (Shrubsall)		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50.2	70.1	—	—	1425-50

•Basi-bregmatic height

K—Korana
B—Chocoma
N—Nama
G—Griqua

(No. 2 is a (supposed) Korana skull from Schweizer Renke, Nos. 17 and 18 are Fritsch's specimens, No. 19 is a specimen in the R.C.S. Museum.)

THE MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE KORANA.*

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Although a certain amount of information is available regarding the musical practices of the Nama Hottentots, little firsthand knowledge concerning those of the Korana has hitherto been collected, and that little is for the most part scattered throughout the writings of a few travellers and missionaries. I therefore welcomed the opportunity of accompanying my colleague Professor L. F. Maingard to the Bloemhof area, where he had found quite a considerable number of Korana, many of them of great age, but still retaining considerable mental and physical powers.

The results of my investigation have been grouped under the headings, Musical Instruments, Vocal Music, and Musical Terms.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Owing to the fact that these few old survivors of the Korana race are no longer living under their original tribal conditions, and also because the younger generation has been subjected to European influences, the musical instruments of ancient days are, almost without exception, no longer played. But the old people still retain their knowledge of them, and were not only ready and willing to impart information about them but did their very best to construct actual specimens, to perform upon them, and to instruct me in methods of performance. In this way seven distinct instruments, together with the manner of making and playing upon them, were identified; and they include examples of Percussion, Wind, and Stringed instruments, and also the "Bull-roarer." The information gathered was as follows.

1. *Percussion Instruments*

A drum, named /*khais*, was made and played by the Korana women. They took the wooden jar or pot, called //*hoes*, made from the willow tree,

*This study deals with a portion of "A Survey of the Music and Musical Practices of the Native Peoples of Southern Africa," now being conducted by the writer under the auspices and with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Research Grant Board of the Union of South Africa.

which was used to contain milk. This jar is, of course, the well-known *bambus* of the early writers. A goatskin was procured, and all the hair was removed. While wet and soft, this skin was stretched over the mouth of the *//hoes*, secured in position by a piece of *riem*, and allowed to dry. The performer seated herself upon the ground, placed the */khais* on the earth before her, and struck it with the flat palm of her right hand. It was used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs which were sung during certain dances. I was unable to ascertain whether any attempt was made to tune the instrument to a particular note, as has been suggested by Burchell in the case of the "water-drum" which he saw played by Bushmen; but it is quite conceivable that such tuning may have been practised by the Korana, when one considers their use of stringed instruments. The usual method of adjusting the pitch of drums employed by Natives of South Africa is to wet the drum skin and then place the instrument in the sun or before a fire until the tension appears to the player to be satisfactory.

There can be no doubt that the */khais* of the Korana is the drum for long associated with the Hottentots, being depicted and described again and again by travellers, and wrongly named by the Dutch Colonists *rommelpot*. It would appear that the early Hollanders, seeing the Hottentots with a drum made from a pot covered with skin, rechristened the instrument with the name given by people of their own nation to a kind of drum made from similar materials by the children in the south of Holland, and used by them at Christmas time. A full account of this instrument, together with the melody and words of the song which was sung to its accompaniment, will be found in the third and fourth volumes of the catalogue of the Instrumental Museum of the Brussels Conservatoire. But the true *rommelpot* was a *friction* drum, the sound being produced by rubbing the moistened fingers up and down a reed one end of which was secured to the centre of the drum skin. This method of sound production on a drum was, so far as I have been able to discover, unknown to the Korana, as also was the name *rommelpot*.

Arbousset's description of this drum of the Korana women is worth recalling here (I quote from the English translation by John Crombie Brown, London, 1852, page 54) "Consuming a great part of the day in smoking, and leaving their children covered with vermin, and their houses in a state of the most disgusting filth, like the men they reserve all their activity and vigour for the *sukeis* or *pot-dance*. When the moon enters her first quarter, all the kraal assemble on some favourite elevation; then they dance to the sound of the tang-tang, all the night long, and sometimes for eight nights in succession. In this amusement the

Korannas place no control on their passions, and abandon themselves to excesses of which it would be a shame even to speak." The so-called "tang-tang" in this description is explained in another passage by Arbousset, in which he describes a similar dance by the Baroa (Hottentots) of Mokoma (Arbousset; English translation p. 353). "Supper being over, the women with their children and the young men set themselves to dance during the first watches of the night, to the sound of a wretched tam-tam" (the French term for a gong, but occasionally applied to drums by some writers, e.g. *Catalogue du Musée Instr., Bruxelles, vol. 4, p. 3*) "made of a small earthen pot, in the form of a quoit, and covered with the skin of a gazelle, well softened after having been stript of its hair."

2. *Wind Instruments*

(a) Signal whistle named //areŋ !as. This instrument consisted of the shin-bone of a springbok, or the leg bone of an ostrich, one end of which was sheared off at right angles to its length, and the marrow removed. A piece of *riem* was attached to it so that it could be suspended from the shoulder of the player. It was sounded by being held against the tongue of the performer in the same way as the $\neq a:di$ (to be described next) were held, and it yielded a shrill penetrating note of considerable carrying power. It was used by the chief for summoning together the men of his tribe, and it was worn and blown by his headmen.

A similar whistle is described by Kolbe as being used in battle by the Hottentots, who employed it to direct operations in the field. One of his plates actually shows the whistle-signallers of two opposing armies each seated upon an eminence, apparently controlling the respective forces. My Korana informants, however, knew nothing of this practice, and, had it been in use among them, it is certain that the older men would have known it in view of the fact that some of the Links people (including Tabab, one of my informants) were actually engaged in battle at Mamusa so recently as 1885.

(b) Reed-flute ensemble, called $\neq a:di$.

This was formerly by far the most important musical feature of the Korana, since it was not only an organised ensemble of many performers, but was really part of the social life of the people. Although it has in the past been frequently noted among the Nama and also the Bechuana, there are but few references in the works of travellers and others to its existence among the Korana. These are Wikar, 1778-9, Wuras, 1858, Stow, 1880, Engelbrecht, 1928, and Meinhof, 1930. But while the

descriptions in Wikar and Wuras give a fair account of the nature of the ensemble, Stow's description is entirely erroneous. This is the more to be regretted since Stow's famous work *The Native Races of South Africa* is much more accessible and widely read than the writings of the other travellers.

Hendrik Jakob Wikar, in his Report to Baron J. von Plettenberg on his journey to the Orange River, 1778-9, described the Korana reed-dance as follows. "They now entertained us with dances and flutes, and on my second trip I understood that they had talked to the other people about their advantage in having seen me ; they also had then made for the flute dance a song about me, the rhinoceros dance which I have already described among the Gesicquas, and which I had found to be not unpleasant to see, by the side of the flute dance. To this last sometimes also belongs the mourning song of a woman, whose husband has been slain in war. The song has the following content. She sees herself as a widow with her children, bereft of the care of her husband and their father, and herself pledged to hunt the game which her husband formerly provided. She hopes that she may live long, so that her son will be old enough to fill his father's place and hunt the game for her. For that dance each of the men is provided with a flute, and they form themselves into a circle. Some have large flutes, others small ; one man stands with his flute in the middle of the circle. He first begins the dance, and the song, with words ; whereupon those standing in the circle begin likewise to dance round and round and at the same time to blow upon their flutes. The tone of the large flute is never introduced into the song unless it fits in with it. The large flute is especially heard when the song is finished ; so they dance very curiously, stamping their feet in time. The women dance round the circle one after another, clapping their hands, and here also happens something which reminds one of caresses, for, as they dance round and round, one or two men slink out of the circle. Thereupon they clasp each other tightly ; he who has come out of the circle dances beside a woman, and draws gently upon the strings of her fore-kaross, upon which she seems " (feigns) "to threaten him."

According to Wikar, the reed-flutes were made from river-reed, from which arrows were also made. "Their arrows," he said, with which they shoot wild animals are generally iron "harpoons" ; and they also use on the tip of the reed-arrow a sharp-pointed white stone in place of the iron "harpoon," because the stone often breaks into pieces in the body of the wild animal. The other arrows are made of sharp gemsbok bone, etc., which is stuck inside the flute-reed." In his description of the Hartebeeste Rivier, Wikar points out that it is thickly overgrown with

"Vaderlandze of fluytjesriet." The Hartebeestrivier, is, of course, a tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. 20½, Lat. 29¼.

Wuras, in his *An Account of the Korana* (MSS. 1858), states on p. 295 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. III. p. 287), "The Aas (the reed play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone" (sic). "They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them to be in unison," (sic) "the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves."

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving the name and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *ḡās* and describes it as "a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced." Meinhof calls the reed-flute *≠'ās* and the reed-dance *≠'ā-s/aĩ-b*, and further states, "They" (the Korana) "have no drum," (sic,) "but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute."

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from Plaatberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Korana. "During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy lora" (printer's error for *gora*, v. infra) "and the whistling reed is truly surprising." This then, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1833. That the "songs of Zion" had no very lasting effect upon the Korana will be seen when their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matiti, undertook to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This

type of reed is thin, being not more than half an inch in diameter (outside measurement) and having a bore of about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. It is regarded as suitable for the manufacture of reed-flutes because of the comparative uniformity of the bore and because the trifling nodal obstructions inside the reed are easily removed, leaving a clear-bore tube. Matiti cut off a length of this reed measuring about 15½ inches, and cleared the bore with a length of wire, since a suitable straight stick was not available. One of the women had in the meantime obtained a handful of ordinary rushes, and she now chewed these, throwing away the pith and leaving the tough fibre, which she straightened out and handed to the old man. Matiti took some of this fibre and rolled it into a ball, which he proceeded to chew. When it was more or less compressed, he took it between his finger and thumb, and pushed it into the wider end of the pipe, forcing it down by means of the wire plunger. I may mention that at first he tried to push it into the narrow end, his sight not being too good, but the others pointed out his error and set him right. He then tried to sound the flute, but since the plug of rush fibre was not air-tight, no clear note could be produced. Upon this, a woman fetched some water, which Matiti poured into the tube, and kept there for some minutes until the plug had swollen, after which he emptied it out and tested the flute as before. This time the tone was clear and ringing. The reed-flute was held in the left hand, the orifice being laid above the hollowed tongue, and not against the lips as is the case with the tube of a panpipe. No "ictus" could be obtained. The fingers steadied the tube against the chin.

I then endeavoured to have a set constructed, and for this purpose several reeds were obtained from gardens in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. From these reeds Matiti and another old man, Tebeb, prepared six reed-flutes, but were not very well satisfied with them. They seemed to find difficulty in remembering how they should be tuned, and suggested that their oldest living friend, named Daob, who had his home at some little distance, should be sent for, since he was a musician, and knew all about these things. We were, however, only able to get hold of Daob on the day before our return from Bloemhof, but he proved to be a particularly interesting personality. Daob was completely blind, and consequently our investigation was much hampered. But his vitality and good humour were amazing, and when the set of reeds was put into his hands, he felt them all over, tried to blow one, and finding difficulty, tested all the reeds at both ends by suction, to see whether the plugging was efficient. Apparently he was annoyed, for he burst into Bushman, and then told the ancient Korana that they knew nothing about the reeds,

but if they got the proper material for him he would show them (he called them "boys") how flutes should be made. I shall have more to say about old Daob when discussing stringed instruments and vocal music.

The reeds were kept by one man who acted as the leader in the reed-dance. A case made of a piece of a tree trunk hollowed out by a curved iron tool was used for keeping the reeds in. This hollow wooden case was suspended by a *riem* from the branch of a tree, so that the flutes might be kept in shade. They were not kept inside a hut since the heat of the fire would tend to dry up the plugs and tubes. But whenever the reeds got too dry for use, they would be thoroughly soaked in water. Should a reed split, it could often be made usable, if not too far gone, by being "whipped" with wet rushes, which, when dry, drew the edges of the crack close together. In place of the wooden flute-case a bag of cowskin was often used.

Women never played the reed-flutes (this directly contradicts Stow); only grown men might perform upon them. Immediately after they had passed through the *doro* or initiation ceremony, the boys would be taught the steps of the reed-dance, and how to play upon the flute. The leader, who was called *!khon!a !kausab*, was the teacher. The men, having been provided with their reed-flutes by their leader, would stand in a circle, and would move round, dancing, counter-clockwise. The men's dance steps involved a leaping movement. The women formed a wider circle outside that of the men, and executed a graceful tripping measure quite different from that of the men, and moved in the opposite direction. Occasionally, however, they would roll their buttocks about in characteristic manner. The flutes were sounded in succession, beginning with the highest in pitch, which was played by the leader. The women clapped their hands in time to the music of the flutes. Owing to the fact that a proper set of flutes was not obtainable, I was unable to arrive at the pitch of the various pipes, but a curious point arises in this connection of which I shall speak when describing the songs of the Korana.

The names given to the first four flutes were as follows.

- (1) *≠ko:≠ko:s*
- (2) *!namis*
- (3) *geiη≠a:s*
- (4) *tuxana*

The meaning of the third of these names is "the big reed," which particular flute appears to function as a kind of "tonic," since from it the

others are tuned. I could obtain no names for any other flutes ; the Korana said that they merely " followed on."

In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The $\neq a:di$, he said, were played by men moving in a circle ($ina \neq na:e \neq nammi$). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands ($ina //am$) and shaking their buttocks (!*hare khwedi*). Four o'clock in the afternoon (*haka kororo:p*) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning ($//kwa:ba$). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that occasionally there was a kind of " competition " between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, " they mixed."

Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes ; and on page 116 he states that " The Koranas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Koranas made their appearance on the banks of the 'Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of

the S. A. Public Library, Cape Town, where the manuscript now is. The passage in question was intended as a foot-note and runs: "The women of the Korana tribes had an exactly similar custom of periodically asserting their independence, and visiting the neighbouring kraals in a body, carrying their flutes with them—all the milk of the neighbourhood having been collected at the kraal threatened, when the same scenes of feasting and midnight revels were carried out." I am forced to conclude that Stow was either misinformed or misunderstood his informants when he made the statement that the women were the players. I have searched the records exhaustively in preparing a complete study of all these reed-flute ensembles which I hope to publish shortly, and in no case save that of Stow is there any suggestion that women played the flutes.

These reed-flute ensembles, in which one man contributes one note only, are of particular interest; it would appear that they represent a stage anterior to that of the classical pan-pipe or syrinx. For even though the maker of a set of these reeds may sound several himself by way of testing them, they are never normally so used in actual performance by these people. I have come across only one instance of the practice, and it has avowedly arisen through relatively recent European contacts. As it does not concern the Korana I shall not discuss it here.

3. *Stringed Instruments*

(a) The ordinary hunting bow of the Korana was called *kha:s*, and from it three distinct types of stringed instruments appear to have been evolved. The first of these is precisely the same in design and materials as its prototype, save that it is much slenderer and is made specially for musical purposes. This instrument is called *!gabus*, and it consists of a slender stock of seasoned *besjebos*, about thirty inches in length, with the bark removed, and thoroughly smoothed where branches have been cut off. Should the wood be too pliable, it may be dried near a fire until sufficiently rigid, but the Korana preferred to let it dry naturally. A groove is cut at one end of the stick and a string of sinew from the back of an ox fixed in this groove by means of a slip knot. The string is then stretched along the stick and secured at the end by being looped round, that part of the string which passes below the sounding portion acting as a kind of "bridge." The tension is adjusted until a convenient pitch is obtained, the pitch being chosen in such a way that certain harmonics of the string may be readily resonated by the mouth. The end of the instrument at which the string is knotted is placed with its tip against the right hand corner of the mouth, the lips holding it securely, although the mouth behind it is open. The stick must not touch the teeth. The

that it was possible to transcribe them into musical notation without much difficulty. The voice parts of two songs performed with *kha:s* accompaniment were recorded at Pneil by Meinhof in February 1928, and transcribed by Heinitz in his *Struktur-Probleme in Primitiver Musik* in 1931. The sound of the *kha:s*, however, could not be recorded, nor were the transcribed sounds associated with their corresponding syllables.

Further, Heinitz' description of the *kha:s* itself, based upon that of Meinhof, is wrong in several respects ; for he suggests that the string is "stopped" by the finger, says that it is made to vibrate by means of a plectrum, and fails to note the distinctive use of the chin. Gotis showed me a method of playing this instrument *pizzicato*. She plucked the string with one hand, using the other for touching it at the "nodes." A further variant was demonstrated when she played as just described, while another woman struck the lower end of the string with the beater. They called this style "playing like baboons." Some interesting rhythmic variation was thus obtained, although the compass of the instrument was not affected thereby. The woman with the beater maintained a steady rhythm, while she who plucked the string was responsible for the variation. After playing, the Korana women slacken the string of the *kha:s*.

In my paper of July 1931, entitled "The Mystery of the Grand Gom-gom," published in Vol. XXVIII of the *South African Journal of Science*, I endeavoured to show how it must have been this instrument, or some similar one, which Le Vaillant saw in the hands of a Hottentot woman, and mistook for the *gora*, being in all likelihood misled by the chin action. At the time of writing that paper, I was not aware that the instrument was definitely a Hottentot one ; but it seems to me that its presence among the Korana endorses my argument, even though the actual Hottentots described by Le Vaillant were not of that particular tribe.

(c) The third stringed instrument of the Korana is, perhaps, most characteristic of them. This is the famous *gora*, or *goras*, for I have heard them use both forms of the name. The *goras*, as is well-known, consists of a fairly straight stick with the bark removed, and seasoned suitably. A string of sinew is fixed to a spatulate piece of quill taken from the feather of a *korhaan*. The string is passed through a hole in the tip of the quill and spliced into itself, never knotted. The quill itself is lashed to one end of the stick by a piece of sinew or *riem*, and at the other end whipped to the stick like the string of the *!gabus*. By applying the quill to the mouth, and inspiring and expiring vigorously, certain

harmonics of the string are powerfully produced. As I have gone very fully into the history of and methods of construction and performance upon this instrument in my paper "*The Gora and its Bantu Successors*," published in *Bantu Studies* Vol. V, no. 2, June 1931, it is unnecessary to say more about it here, except to emphasise that it appears to have belonged particularly to the Korana. But I would add the information obtained in December, 1931, by Professor Maingard, when Mulukab, a Korana, who was in the Orange Free State, visited his friends at Bloemhof. When the name of the instrument was mentioned, all the Korana remembered it, but said that it was no longer played by them. Mulukab, however, became wildly excited, jumped up, and applying his traveller's stick to his mouth, hummed a tune and sketched a few dance steps. Mulukab is recognised as an expert on the instrument and can still play it. He added "You play it by yourself. It makes you forgetful of things, and you can be your own company." Plate VI shows Sele:ki, a Kora who lives in the location at Schweizer Reneke, photographed at that place playing upon the instrument.

The *ramki*, the guitar-like stringed instrument universally attributed to the Hottentots, is unknown to these Korana, and the principles involved in its construction are entirely foreign to their musical practice.

(d) Miscellaneous Instruments.

The only Korana instrument known to me which comes into this category is a form of bull-roarer, called *buru-bu*. It is made for and played only by young boys, and has lost any significance it may have had. It is interesting, however, in view of Balfour's suggestion that the bull-roarer may have had something to do with the origins of the gora. (Balfour : "*The Goura*," p. 173). Among the Korana it is made of a flat oblong strip of wood about five and a half inches long, two inches wide and a quarter of an inch thick. The wood is thinned down somewhat towards the tip (the corners of which are slightly rounded), and also along the edges. A hole is bored at the thick end, a string threaded through it, and the ends of the string knotted together. The boy takes the loop of string in his right hand and whirls the bull-roarer round and round in the usual manner. Plate VII shows a Kora boy holding the instrument.

VOCAL MUSIC

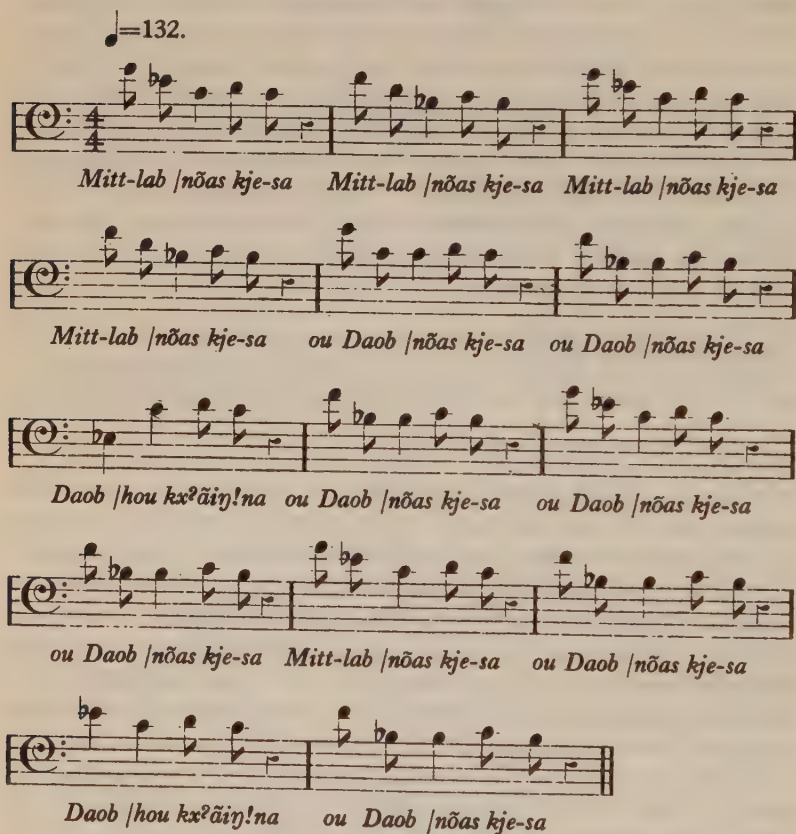
A number of songs performed chiefly by old Daob, the blind musician, were recorded on the phonograph, and afterwards transcribed by me. The texts were secured by Professor Maingard who has kindly

edited them for me. I am responsible for the adjustment of the Korana texts to the melodies. It is interesting to point out that old Daob at first was unwilling to sing because he had no other singers to sing with him. His voice was high in pitch, and in spite of his great age (he was well over a hundred) his intonation was excellent and clear-cut.

Ex. 3.

Mittlab /nōās kjesa

$\bullet = 132.$



Mitt-lab /nōās kje-sa Mitt-lab /nōās kje-sa Mitt-lab /nōās kje-sa

Mitt-lab /nōās kje-sa ou Daob /nōās kje-sa ou Daob /nōās kje-sa

Daob /hou kx²āiŋ!na ou Daob /nōās kje-sa ou Daob /nōās kje-sa

ou Daob /nōās kje-sa Mitt-lab /nōās kje-sa ou Daob /nōās kje-sa

Daob /hou kx²āiŋ!na ou Daob /nōās kje-sa

This song is descriptive of a quarrel between Daob and another man named Mittlab over the ownership of a cow. Translated, the words mean

Mittlab ! It is his cow !

Mittlab ! It is his cow !

Old Daob ! It is his cow !

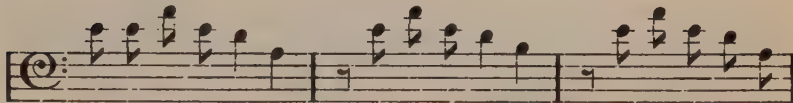
Daob ! You have a beard all over your face !

The rivals have each claimed the animal, but Daob, the more astute of the two, has gone off with it, whereupon Mittlab calls him an old baboon. The song is in dialogue form, and it is interesting to note how one form of the melodic phrase is used almost always to indicate Mittlab, and a different one for Daob. The formation of the melody upon the two triads, which was unmistakeable, is also significant.

Ex. 4.

da hata kje !kuti

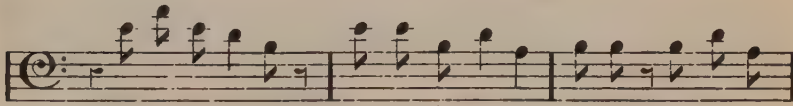
$\text{♩} = 116.$



da ha-ta kje !ku-ti

ha-ta kje !ku-ti

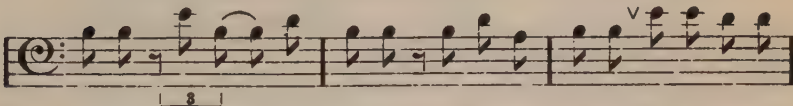
ha-ta kje !ku-ti



ha-ta kje !ku-ti

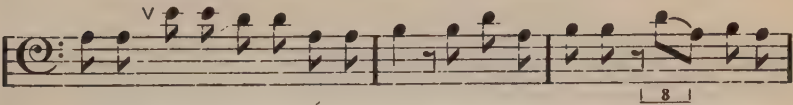
taebas ≠ hao ba-sen

ta-ma ≠ hao ba-sen



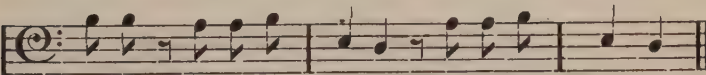
tama gei - kwa kje ho ho ≠ hao ba-sen

ta-ma, tae-ba ba-si



/go:bgo, tae-ba ba-si/go:bgo go, ≠ hao ba-sen

tama ≠ hao basen



tama tā rā rā rā rā tā rā rā rā rā

This is the beginning of a song called /gaxuta (a man's name). Translated, the words mean,

Where shall we find Kuti? (brother of /gaxuta)

Why don't you smack the boy yourself?

The old people have got hold of him.

Why has the boy got the better of you?

Ex. 5.

tã ti-nã tã

$\text{♩} = 100$

tã ti-nã tã tã tã-nã-nã tã ti-nã tã

tã ta-nã tã ta-na tã tã tã-nã-nã tã ti-nã tã

tã ta-nã tã ta-na tã tã ta-nã tã tã

tã ta-nã tã tã tã ti-nã tã ti-nã tã

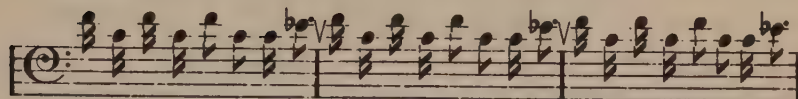
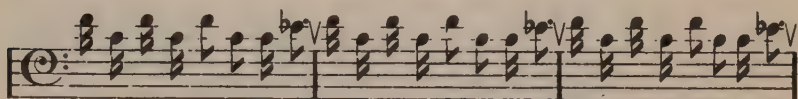
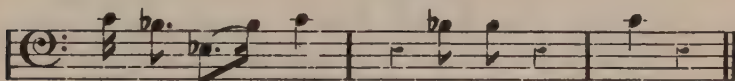
tã ti-nã tã ta-na tã

The syllables of this song are meaningless; they are merely syllables comparable to the tra-la-la of English song. The position of this and the following three songs is curious. Old Daob was asked to sing the sounds of the reed-flutes. This must have been, to him, an unusual request. However, when he realised that we wished to hear the sound of the first flute, $\neq ko: \neq ko:s$, he began to sing this melody, which I made him repeat, and which I recorded. The notation represents adequately what Daob sang; the curious hurrying in the fourth, seventh, tenth and eleventh bars is characteristic. The bar-lines have been introduced to indicate the phrasing.

Ex. 6.

!ui mare !harab!na tao

♩=86.

*!ui mare !harab !na tao !ui mare !harab !na tao !ui mare !harab !na tao**o de-na !kũ... ≠keie thõ thõ !nou**!ui mare !harab !na tao !ui mare !harab !na tao !ui mare !harab !na tao**de-na !kũ... ≠keie thõ thõ !nou*

This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the second flute, *!namis*. Translated, the words mean

When the cows are in the kraal in the evening,
They come inside *

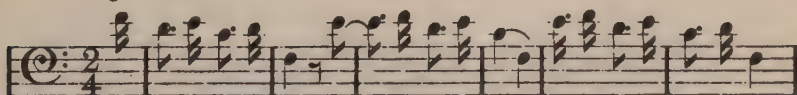
(*The meaning of the remainder of the words is not clear.)

This, said Daob, was the beginning of a war-song. I am not absolutely certain that the words should be fitted to the melody exactly as shown. Daob's singing in this instance was rather faint, and the phonogram suffered accordingly.

Ex. 7.

tirã tirã tirũ

♩=120.

*ti - rã ti-rã ti - rã tã... ti-rã ti - r i... tã ti-rã ti - rã ti - rã*

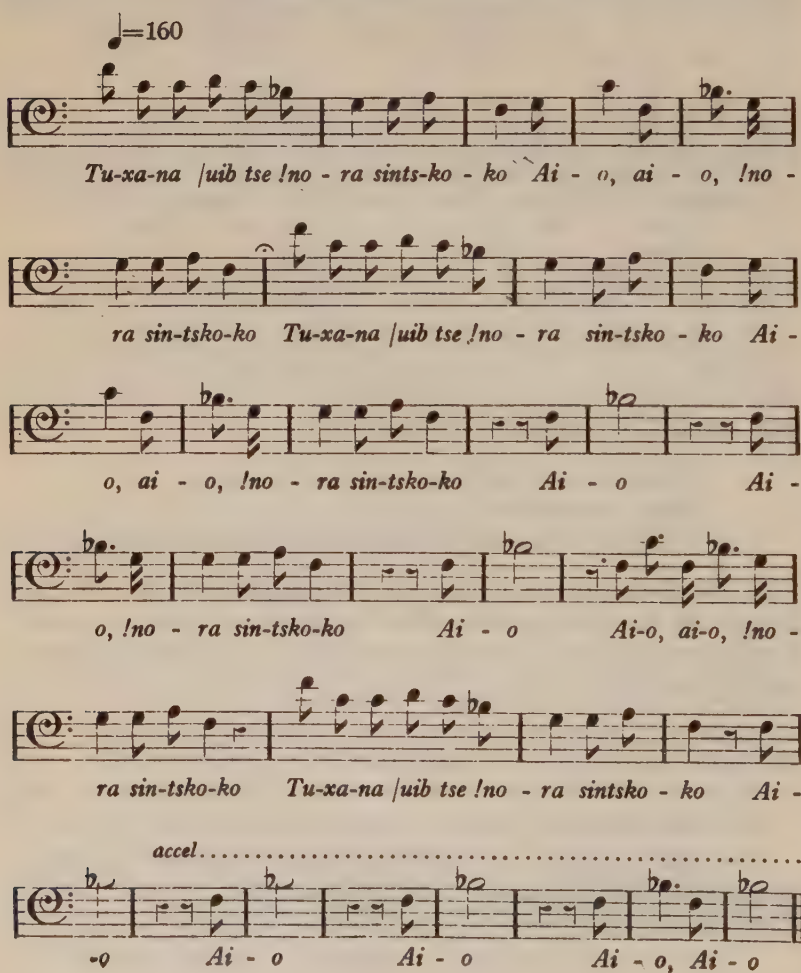


This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the third flute, *geiη=a:s*. The syllables mean nothing.

Ex. 8.

Tuxana /uib tse !nora sintskoko

$\text{♩} = 160$



Tu-xa-na /uib tse !no - ra sints-ko - ko Ai - o, ai - o, !no -

ra sin-tsko-ko Tu-xa-na /uib tse !no - ra sin-tsko - ko Ai -

o, ai - o, !no - ra sin-tsko-ko Ai - o Ai -

o, !no - ra sin-tsko-ko Ai - o Ai-o, ai-o, !no -

ra sin-tsko-ko Tu-xa-na /uib tse !no - ra sintsko - ko Ai -

accel.....

-o Ai - o Ai - o Ai - o, Ai - o

This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the fourth pipe *tuxana*. Translated, the words mean

Tuxana, have you rolled down the stone ?

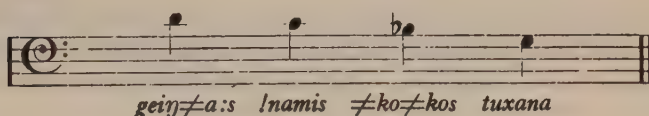
Have you rolled down the stone ?

Ai-o, Ai-o !

I was unable to discover from the Korana the actual connection between these songs and the flutes, particularly as I could not obtain the tuning of the flutes themselves. This I hope to do later, and meantime would suggest that there is a possibility that these tunes served as a series of mnemonics whereby the skilled musicians of the Korana people might tune their reed-flutes ; for the nature of the Korana instruments is such that no permanent pitch standards could be maintained, unless their whole musical system were based upon the harmonic series, apparent to them in all their stringed instruments.

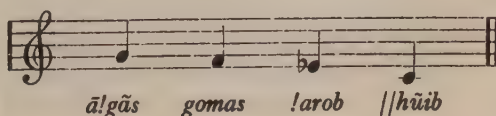
But an examination of the four tunes associated by Daob with the reed-flutes yields the following significant information. In Tune III, *tā ti-nā tā*, the note which is heard most frequently is B flat, and it is also consistently emphasised ; in Tune IV, *!ui mare !harab !na tao*, the note C is similarly prominent ; while in Tune V, *ti-ra ti-ra ti-ra*, the outstanding note is D. Again, in Tune VI, *Tuxana, !uib tse !nora sintskoko*, the note most frequently sounded is G. Assuming that these notes represent the sounds of the four principal reed-flutes, we arrive at the following fragmentary scale,

Ex. 9.



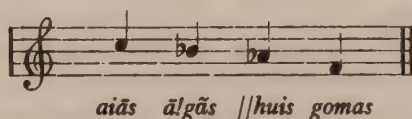
of which the first note *geiŋ≠a:s* is sounded by the flute of the leading musician. A comparison of this scale with the Nama reed-flute scale quoted by Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 375 e. seq.) shows that a similar sequence of notes is present, although it does not begin with the principal reed-flute, *aiās*, but with the next lowest flute,

Ex. 10.



But an exactly similar scale occurs in a set of four reed-flutes which I possess, and which were made and played by the */awa gowab sãn* or Red-Dunes Bushmen who live near the western fringe of the Kalahari desert, and who have doubtless been in close contact with the Nama Hottentots. The scale of this set of reed-flutes is

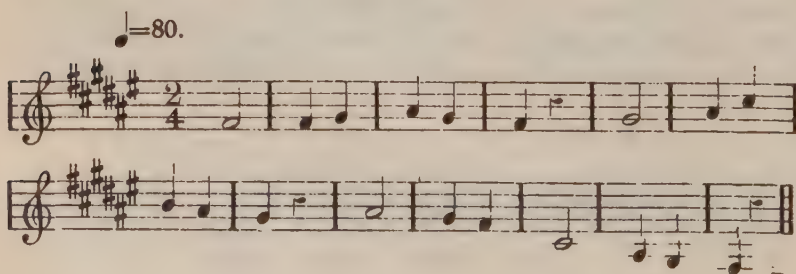
Ex. 11.



As regards the method of singing displayed by Daob, one was at once struck by the crispness of his rhythm. Slurring, when used, was deliberate, and in this connection it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, in several of the songs, there are two sounds sung to one syllable. Otherwise there is a considerable agreement in general outline between the words as sung, and the same words as spoken; and this agreement applies also to the relative emphasis of the various syllables. In fact, so "musical" was the speech of certain of the Korana, and so definite the relative pitches of the speech tones, that frequently speech constituted melody, in which one seemed to hear at least six distinct pitches. Nevertheless I am not at this stage prepared to dogmatise on the point since I have not so far been able to obtain sufficient material upon which to generalise.

In addition to the songs performed by old Daob, four Korana women sang a couple of songs. The first of these, reputed to be a lullaby, was sung by Gotis and Keis. European influence is apparent in this song.

Ex. 12.

hada //nāu

The words of this song, which was sung with the drawl that appears to be inevitable when the Bantu, unguided by Europeans, attempt to sing European melody, were

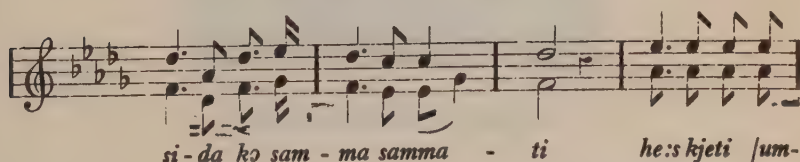
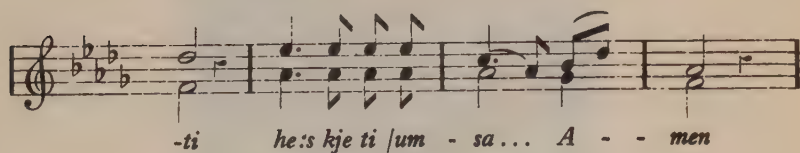
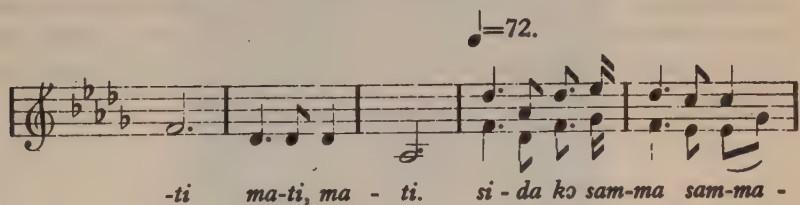
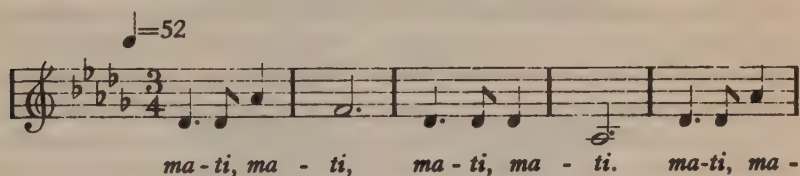
hada ||nāu he: buruxa mīs,

which means

Let us listen to this wonderful little word.

The second song affords an even better example of the use to which the backsliding convert may put the "songs of Zion;" for here, what is palpably a hymn tune, or rather the two upper parts of one, is turned into a lullaby, with secular words. In this case also, the laziness of the rendering was characteristic, and quite opposed to the crisp execution employed by Daob, in spite of his years. The singers were two younger women, Iis and Kwakwaris.

Ex. 13. *mati, mati*





The words, translated, mean

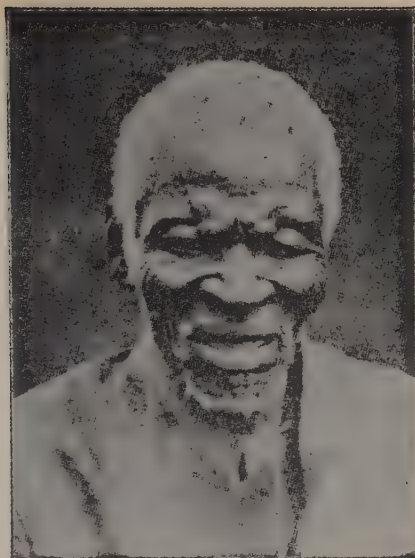
Give me, give me !
 We have taken the honey out.
 This is my soul. Amen.

This particular song affords an excellent illustration of the distortion of Native words when forced into the Procrustes bed of European hymnology.

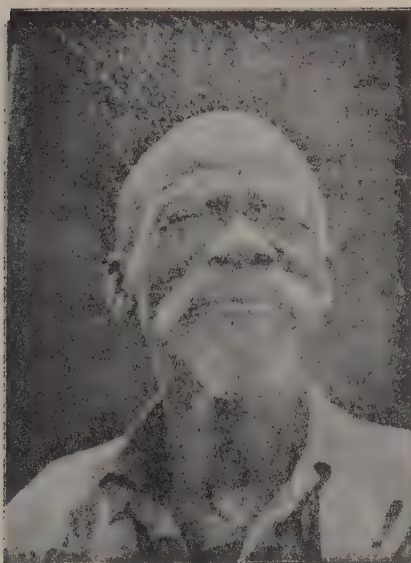
MUSICAL TERMS

In addition to the names given to their musical instruments there are a few musical terms used by the Korana, in spite of the relatively restricted vocabulary of the language. High sounds are called *!kurise* \neq *nae* and low sounds *!eri doma* \neq *nae*. A single singer, man or woman, performing alone is */guise* \neq *nae*, and a chorus of men and women is called *!ko:* \neq *nae kx²ona*. This latter name would be given to the singers in the *doro* ceremony. The sound of two voices singing the same sound simultaneously is called */kam domkwa*; but the sound of two voices singing different notes simultaneously is called *!any* \neq *nae*. These last terms indicate clearly the practical recognition of harmony among the Korana.

PLATE I.

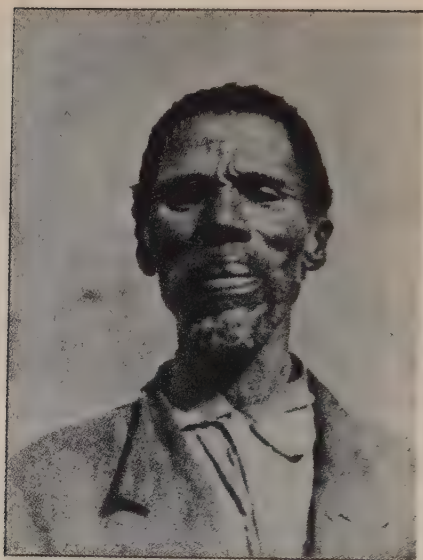


Xras (Schweizer Reneke.)



Sele:hi (Schweizer Reneke).

PLATE II.

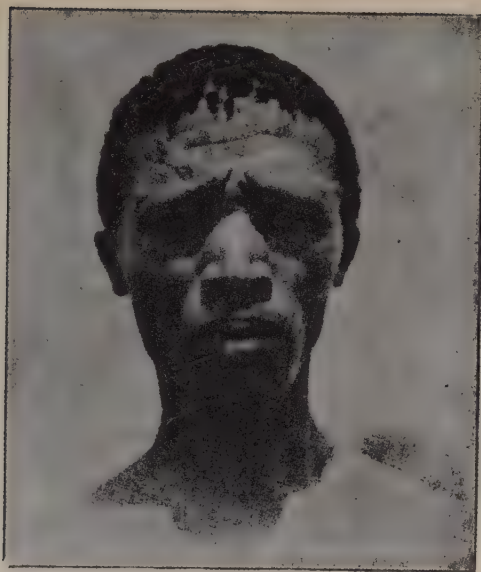


Tabab (Bloemhof).



Kheis (Bloemhof).

PLATE III.



A. and B.
Abraham Links.

PLATE IV.



Site of Saron Mission Station.



The Grave of Johannes Links.

PLATE V.



Matiti plugging a Flute



Matiti blowing a Flute.



Method of blowing the Reed-Flute.

PLATE VI.



Gotis playing the Kha:s.



Sele:ki playing the Goras.

PLATE VII.



Tabab playing the !Gabus.



Korana boy with a Bull-Roarer.

**MIGRATIONS
OF THE
KORANA**

The map illustrates the migration routes of the Korana people. Key locations marked include Upington, Kheis, Griquatown, Kuruman, Prieska, Kimberley, Pniel, Hebron, Saron, Bloemhof, Taungs, Christiana, Bloemfontein, Bethany, and Schweizer Reineke. Rivers shown are the Orange R., Nieuweland, Sand R., Vet R., Hart R., Modder R., Riet R., Brak R., and the Orange R. (further west). Arrows indicate the direction of migration, generally from the south and east towards the north and west. A compass rose and a scale bar (0 to 80 miles) are also present.

This map illustrates only the general direction of the migrations. It is impossible to indicate the to and fro movements of the tribes, e.g. those of the Links between Saron and Nieuweland. It is noteworthy that the lines of migration follow the rivers, the Korana being a pastoral people.

BOOK REVIEWS

Elements of Tropical Hygiene, by G. M. Sanderson, (Longmans, Green & Co. London. 1932), 118 pp. 2s.

This is a most attractive outline of essential elements of hygiene and physiology for the use of teachers in African village schools. The book is most informative, written in a simple and interesting style. Nevertheless technical terms are not avoided. They are explained and later elucidated in a glossary. The book is divided into three parts, Life and the Body, Some Common Diseases, and Sanitation. The functions of the various body organs are carefully explained in a way to gain the full interest and understanding of the reader ; and the practical application in sanitation follows as a natural corollary. A study of this little book will go a long way toward counteracting the Native African adherence to witchcraft as the source of sickness and death.

Such a book as this could well be translated into the vernaculars of tropical African areas. We congratulate the author and publishers on this publication. The illustrations too are very apt and instructive.

C.M.D.

U-Nolishwa, by H. M. Ndawo, Lovedale Press, 1931, 126 pp. 1/6.

The author of this story is not unknown among Xhosa writers, having written *Intsomi zase Zweni* in 1920, *Uhambo luka Gqoboka* in 1922 and *Izibongo Zenkosi Zama-Hlubi Nezama-Baca* in 1928, and his present work adds to the increasing number of Xhosa novels which are doing their part in building up Xhosa literature. The author shows his ability to recount in simple and readable style a typical Bantu life story. This story of Nolishwa has a strong Christian setting. The little book is illustrated in an interesting way by G. N. Pemba, a Native artist.

C.M.D.

The BaVenda, by Hugh A. Stayt. With an Introduction by Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé. (Published for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures by Oxford University Press. London : Humphrey Milford, 1931. 30s. net)

The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia. A Study of their Customs and Beliefs.
By Clement M. Doke. (London : Harrap & Co., Ltd. 36s. net).

The ethnographer who sets out at the present time to record the culture of a primitive tribe is faced with a task of some complexity. Owing to the rapid development of anthropological theory, the scope of field investigation has widened considerably, while at the same time its technique has been elaborated to a high degree of refinement. Far more is expected nowadays in a monograph than would formerly have been thought necessary, and the standards by which it is judged have grown a good deal more critical. The author's qualifications, the length of his stay with the tribe he is describing, the methods he employed to obtain his information, and the manner in which he presents it, all these are factors which must be considered in estimating the value of his work. Of the two books listed above, the first is written by a trained anthropologist, the second by a former missionary. Both authors are well equipped by their experience to discuss Native habits and customs, but as is only to be expected there is an appreciable difference in their handling of the material.

The BaVenda of whom Dr. Stayt writes are one of the largest Bantu tribes of the Northern Transvaal, and are also found in Southern Rhodesia. His bibliography shows that they have already been studied fairly extensively, but in the three seasons spent by him and his wife amongst them he was able to secure a vast amount of additional information. His book is by no means free from defect, but as a whole it is a very good piece of work, and without question the most competent study yet produced of any Bantu tribe in the Union. It portrays with a wealth of detail every aspect of Venda culture, and the author discusses ably and clearly the significance of the customs and beliefs he records.

The Bavenda are a composite people who have been gradually welded into a compact whole in the locality they now inhabit. They are the most recent Bantu settlers in the Union, and in their social organization and beliefs differ in many respects from the tribes around them. The diversity of their origin is reflected both in their physical appearance and in certain cultural variations, e.g. in connexion with the burial and in installation rites of their chiefs. Actually they are made up of sibs and groups of unrelated peoples, who have, in varying circumstances and localities, come in contact with a small homogeneous nucleus and become identified with it. This nucleus, in its legends and in some of its customs appears to be closely linked with the old Zimbabwe culture of Southern

Rhodesia, a fact stressed by Miss Caton-Thompson in her attribution of this culture to the Bantu.*

Since their arrival in the Union the BaVenda have come under the influence first of the surrounding BaSotho and then of the Europeans. Dr. Stayt carefully discusses in the proper context the Sotho elements in their culture, which are often considerable. It is to be regretted, however, that he has paid so little attention to the modifications due to contact with the Europeans. It is obvious from a few cursory references that this influence has been fairly pronounced, but not once does he attempt to analyze fully its effects upon Venda life. His chapter on "Social Groupings," e.g., concludes with the words: "The disintegrating effect of the contact of the BaVenda with the European seems likely to result in the total collapse of their social system." This sweeping assertion at the very least calls for some specific illustrations of the "disintegrating effect," but nothing at all is said to reinforce it. The result is that we are given a picture of Venda culture not as it actually exists, but as it emerges once the European elements have been disregarded and the obsolete or decadent Native institutions restored to their former prominence. It is possible, of course, to justify this procedure. On the other hand, it conveys a distinctly false impression of what the BaVenda are at the present time, which after all is what Dr. Stayt should have attempted to record before concerning himself with the past. Moreover, it completely ignores one of the great problems with which modern anthropology is concerned, viz. the effects of culture contact between Europeans and Native races.

The early chapters of the book deal with economic life in a somewhat sketchy manner and would have gained much by better arrangement. Agricultural rites, e.g., are described towards the end under the main headings of "Religion" and "Rain-Making," and are thereby isolated from their proper context; such diverse activities as war, trading, travelling and hunting are lumped together haphazardly in one short chapter; while far too little is said about land tenure and the Venda conceptions of property.

The succeeding pages on the life history of the individual are much more exhaustive. This aspect of Native life is one which most ethnographers find easy to investigate, and a good deal of useful information about it can be gathered with relatively little trouble. Dr. Stayt, how-

*Cf. her book on *The Zimbabwe Culture: Ruins and Reactions* (Oxford 1931), to which Dr. Stayt has contributed an appendix on the BaVenda and their connexion with Zimbabwe.

ever, has done his work in this respect with outstanding efficiency. His description of puberty and initiation, in particular, is excellent. The old Venda ceremonies include separate "schools" for the boys and the girls, followed by a joint "school" in which the two sexes are brought together and initiated simultaneously into the mysteries of sex and childbirth. Circumcision is now also firmly established in parts of their country. It was introduced to them by the BaLemba, but much of the procedure was borrowed from the BaSotho, and many of the associated songs are in SeSotho and not in TshiVenda. Dr. Stayt's account of these ceremonies is very full and connected, and his explanations of the significance reveal a thorough understanding of a most difficult problem in Bantu ethnography.

Social organization is dealt with in a competent although rather lifeless manner. The analysis of the relationship system, especially, suffers from the lack of all reference to actual individuals. We are not even given the customary genealogical trees of some man and some woman to illustrate concretely the application of the relationship terms, while the account of "behaviour patterns" is almost painfully stereotyped. But several features of interest may be noted. Dr. Stayt rightly stresses the bilateral aspect of kinship affiliations, which among the BaVenda is based upon a definite physiological theory. It is believed that the child receives its flesh and blood from the mother and its bones and sensory organs from the father. As a result its mother's maternal relations and its father's paternal relations play a specially important part in its life. Control over its welfare is even more powerfully exercised by the ancestral spirits of these two lines. Most bodily disease, since it is associated with the blood, is attributed to the malevolent spirits of the mother's group, which are in consequence greatly feared and play a bigger part in the lives of their relations than do the spirits of the father's side. The sacred bull representing the paternal ancestors, and the female goat representing the maternal ancestors, are conspicuous in Venda religion and figure prominently in many of the ceremonies. This whole complex of beliefs and practices is admirably synthesized by Dr. Stayt, whose discoveries in regard to it throw a good deal of light upon ancestor worship amongst the Bantu in general.

The political organization, with its chieftainship, hereditary and appointed officials, and system of three councils is described fairly clearly but more information on the working of the councils and on the administration of justice would have been welcome. In particular one regrets that Dr. Stayt does not cite any of the actual cases of Venda jurisdiction which came to his notice. Concrete instances of this sort

would have thrown much more light upon the actual functioning of the system than does the mere statement of general principles. We are, as it were, given the structure of Venda legal doctrine, while nothing is said of the intricacies and irregularities of behaviour which by no means conform to strict tribal usage.

This neglect of the individual element is noticeable throughout the book, and detracts to a considerable extent from its quality. We are given a useful account of the chieftainship and its functions, but of the personal character of the chief, a factor which always plays a large part in Bantu political life, Dr. Stayt says very little, although he had every opportunity for observation. Again, he discusses at some length the Venda conceptions of religion and magic, but never pauses to consider how far the BaVenda as individuals vary in their outlook upon the supernatural world and in their attitude towards conventional beliefs. He does not discuss the private opinions of the magicians about their work, and so misses a valuable opportunity of throwing light upon the extent to which they are really sincere in their dealings with their credulous fellow-tribesmen. He writes a good deal about witchcraft and divination, but gives very few actual examples of either.

We are in fact presented with what is admittedly a sound analysis of Venda culture, but we do not learn very much of the people possessing that culture. One gets the impression that there is nothing in the way of marked individual variation, that the individual is in effect almost completely swamped by and submerged in the group—and how erroneous this impression is anyone with a first-hand knowledge of the Bantu will readily acknowledge.

It has been felt necessary to dwell upon these defects because Dr. Stayt is an anthropologist by training. His work must therefore be regarded as an example of what this training can achieve when put to use in the field. The many excellent features in his book vindicate the superiority of the anthropologist's approach to that of other observers. We refer not only to the information actually collected, but to the way in which the interrelation of different aspects of custom and belief is brought out, and to the convincing interpretations of facts which occasionally appear on the surface to be entirely meaningless and merely picturesque. Only a student trained to appreciate the problems of culture could have seen so deeply into the life of a primitive people. Nevertheless the criticisms that can be advanced against the book show that even the anthropologist still has a good deal to learn about the methods of studying the Native, and about the handling of his material so as to give a comprehensive and well-balanced record of Native life.

It would be unfair to apply the same canons of criticism to Professor Doke's account of the AwaLamba. In his preface he specifically regrets his lack of anthropological training. "I wish I had had more knowledge of the significance of the Native customs when I first went to work among the Lambas," he says; "I should have been saved from many a grievous mistake and many a misjudgment." He writes as a missionary who lived for seven years among his people, and his account of their culture is obviously based upon careful and sympathetic study. To say that it falls short of the quality demanded in a first-class ethnographical monograph is not to belittle his work, which in fact constitutes an important contribution to our knowledge of the Bantu and compares very favourably with the majority of treatises on the African Native.

The Lambas belong to the great belt of matrilineal Bantu peoples extending right across Africa from east to west on the level of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. They are divided into exogamous clans with matrilineal descent, many of which bear animal names; but the members of a clan have no special usages to observe in connexion with the object from which their clan name is derived. There is more than a mere suggestion of patrilineal influences in the fact that although a dead man's heirs are his brothers, his children also receive part of the heritage, and again the "guardian" of the dead man's spirit will be one of his own children in preference to his sister's. Professor Doke does not appear to appreciate the bearing of these and similar facts upon the problems of social organization, for his whole account of the clan and kinship system is characterized by a formal sketchiness which leaves much to be desired. There is a tantalizing reference to the fact that Lamba clans are paired off in opposites which observe a joking relationship towards each other; a fuller discussion of this topic would have been decidedly welcome.

The people derive their subsistence from agriculture supplemented by hunting. Cattle do not appear to be used. There is a really good chapter upon hunting, which among the Lambas is a professional occupation akin to that of the smith. The hunter must be ceremonially initiated into the craft, and a full discussion is given of the part played by magic and omens in his activities. It is a pity that the noticeable care exercised in the compilation of this description was not also extended to that of the agricultural routine, which is dismissed far too briefly in a miscellaneous chapter on "Village Life and Customs." The whole economic life, in fact, apart from hunting, is dealt with in a somewhat superficial manner, which is all the more regrettable as there are several facts of importance in this connexion scattered through the book.

The life-history of the individual is described adequately and in fairly great detail. An interesting fact is the complete absence of any rites or ceremonies initiating boys into manhood. On the other hand a girl on the occasion of her first menstruation is secluded for several months, during which she is instructed principally upon points of behaviour which will have a bearing upon her future married life. No operation is performed, but vaginal distension is practised in order to ensure safe delivery at childbirth. Cross-cousin marriage of both types is common, but apparently not insisted upon. Where it does take place, the "marriage pledge" need not be given to the girl's people. Marriage is stated to be matrilocal, but it appears that after two years or so the husband generally receives permission to return to his own village. The children in such cases are often left with their mother's people, but the ultimate decision rests with the parents.

The tribal organization of the Lambas, with its system of graded chieftainships and villages of different status, presents some remarkable features which are clearly brought out. The chapter on law contains a good account of customary procedure, illustrated by a number of actual case-histories. The penalties exacted include fining in kind, bodily mutilation, death, and, it is interesting to note, enslavement of the convicted person or of some relations in his place. Slavery as a domestic institution used to flourish amongst the Lambas, and Professor Doke gives a brief but useful description of the various ways in which people become slaves and of their subsequent treatment.

The best chapters in the book are those dealing with Lamba religion. Here Professor Doke obviously feels more at home, and he has given us a most valuable treatment of what is generally a difficult subject to describe lucidly. The Lambas speak of *Lesa*, the creator of all things, but he is not worshipped and appears to play little part in their daily life. On the other hand the spirits affect almost every phase of daily existence. At death *umweo*, "the life," is freed from the body and, detached from *umupashi*, "spirit," goes to the abode of the dead, which lies somewhere in the west. The *umupashi* returns to the village to await an opportunity for reincarnation in some new-born child of its clan. Till then it is closely associated with some living kinsman, either a younger brother or a son, who builds for it the customary little hut and sees that it is kept supplied with nourishment. Apart from these spirits of the dead are the *ifwanda*, "demons," who are a separate creation, wandering about in the forest and inflicting harm upon the living. Magic amongst the Lambas is practised by several different classes of people, whose activities and methods Professor Doke describes in considerable detail. Finally a

word of appreciation should be said about his chapter on witchcraft, which although rather brief is illuminated by a number of case-histories throwing a good deal of light upon Lamba conceptions of the black art. Professor Doke may be congratulated upon the success of his venture into a field somewhat removed from that in which he has specialized since his departure from Ilamba.

It only remains to add that both books are well produced, beautifully illustrated, and provided with the usual apparatus of maps, bibliographies, glossaries and indices. Their prices, however, seem rather exorbitant, a fact, of course, for which the authors cannot be held responsible.

I. SCHAPERA

An Outline of English Phonetics, by Daniel Jones, Professor of Phonetics, University College, London. Third Edition (rewritten) with 116 illustrations, pp. 326. W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1932, 12/6 net.

This third edition of Professor Daniel Jones' well-known book on English Phonetics may well be considered an entirely new work. Besides a bringing up to date of all the material the previous edition contained, there are many great and valuable additions in the volume just brought out. This book is valuable not only to students of English phonetics but also to those interested in the general subject of phonetics, on account of the amount of general phonetic theory contained. Much of what one hitherto found in the first fifty pages of "The Pronunciation of Russian" is now incorporated here. We are indebted to the author for his illuminating discussions on the subjects of *prominence*, *syllables*, *phonemes* and *diaphones*, and for the detailed descriptions of the vowels and consonants.

The English vowels are worked out with comparative charts (and a full description of the cardinal vowel chart system), lip-position photographs, palatograms and tongue-position drawings, with most careful details, and due notice of dialectal peculiarities. A new system of numbering the vowels is usefully employed. There are also valuable comparisons and contrasts, made by chart, particularly with French and German pronunciation. Perhaps one of the outstanding contributions of this book is found in those sections dealing with the mispronunciations of foreigners (and this applies to the consonants as well as vowels), and examples are given freely from Danish, Dutch, French, German, Hungarian, Indian, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swedish. The book will be a treasure-house for the foreign student of English.

Professor Jones employs the term "Received Pronunciation" for that type of English, which he uses as standard—this in place of his previous "Standard Southern English." He has included a valuable chapter on "Affricates," in which the whole system of affrication in English is well reviewed. I still feel, however, that he has not sufficiently emphasised the essential difference in tongue-position between the 't' in 'ts' and the 't' in 't/.' This is not sufficiently brought out in the diagrams (Figures 64 and 70 for instance), and perhaps many of his palatograms would have been more illuminating had he included with them diagrams of the tongue, shewing clearly what portions are affected by contact. Has sufficient attention been paid to this?

A fine distinction is made between "Similitude" and "Assimilation," the former being governed by the choice of a closer member of the phoneme, and the latter by a member of a different phoneme. A most useful exposition of "Rhythm" is given, and the interdependence of Rhythm and Length amply demonstrated.

In the chapter on "Stress," the author has well emphasised that Stress does not necessarily involve a raising of the tone. A study of tone and stress in Bantu languages makes this point absolutely clear; nevertheless in English a raising of the tone often does accompany a stressed syllable. The book contains a mass of important detail on "Stress" and "Intonation," some fifty pages being devoted to the latter subject. In recording intonation Professor Jones follows the system used by Klinghardt in his "Übungen im Englischen Tonfall" with certain modifications; and, as a method of classification, he has adopted that of Armstrong and Ward in their "Handbook of English Intonation."

The value of this great work might have been still further enhanced by the inclusion of a few kymograph tracings as an adjunct to some of the descriptions; but with its splendid illustrative figures, useful index, good clear printing and strong binding, we find nothing in this work to criticise; and most heartily congratulate the author on a most valuable production.

C.M.D.

KXATLA RIDDLES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE¹

BY I. SCHAPERA

The riddle as a form of entertainment is found widely distributed amongst the South African Bantu. Unlike the proverb, which states a fact or expresses a thought in vivid metaphor, the riddle describes a person or a thing in more obscure metaphor, calculated to exercise the intellectual skill of those who attempt to solve it. The framing and guessing of riddles thus becomes a trial of wits, a sort of dialectic combat, and riddles are in fact used by various peoples not only as a form of amusement, but as a means of education and even as a serious test of intellectual ability.²

It cannot be said that the latter considerations play any conspicuous part in the riddles of the Bechuanaland BaKxatla. Of course the riddles by their very nature convey a good deal of useful instruction about man and his environment, but none of my informants laid stress upon this particular aspect. To them the riddle is primarily a form of social pastime, with a dominant competitive element to add zest to the proceedings. It is indulged in mainly by the children, of both sexes, when they are gathered at night round the fire in the *lapa* (household enclosure) or out at the cattle-post, and it is to them just as much a game as any of their other play activities.

The night is the appropriate time for riddles and for folk-tales. To ask riddles by day is regarded by adults as a breach of the good behaviour that is expected from children. Any adult who overhears the children doing so will warn them with the saying that if they persist *mpya e tla xo rwesa sedibêla, o tsamaya ka sona*, "a dog will place a calabash of fat on your head and you will (have to) go about with it" (a common expression in admonishing young children). Or, if he happens to be in an irritable mood, he will swear at them: *maxo sebono, kwêna o thlaba dithabalakane mothsexare*, "your mother's anus, is it you who utter riddles by day?" And he may even whip them, as one of my informants ruefully recollected from his youthful experience. But in spite of this rule of good conduct,

¹ This paper is based upon material collected in the course of several trips to the BaKxatla of Bechuanaland Protectorate during the years 1929—1931. For the financial assistance which made these trips possible I am gratefully indebted to the University of Cape Town.

² Cf. *The Handbook of Folklore*, edited by C. S. Burne (London, 1914), pp. 284—5.

I have heard adolescent girls engaged in some common task lighten their labour by asking one another riddles, and none of the young people from whom I collected riddles hesitated to dictate them to me, even although it was broad daylight. They said they did not believe the statement about the dog and the calabash—that was merely used to frighten the small children—and in any case there were no adults present to overhear them!

When two children play at riddles, the one begins by interrogating the other. As long as the latter is able to answer correctly, the former has to continue setting one riddle after the other, until at last the latter is unable to give a right solution. Thereupon the former says : *a di tla marékwe*, "Let the buyers come" (lit., let come those which are sold). The latter now assumes the role of questioner, and continues in the same way until his opponent is also baffled. He then says : *mpolélé ya xo*, "tell me yours," and he is told the answer to the riddle he was unable to solve. In reply he says : *le nna ya ka ke . . .*, "and as for me mine is (so and so)." Lestrade describes the same sort of procedure for the Transvaal BaSotho.³

When several children play together, they divide up into two sides, each under a leader who is known to be skilful at riddles. These leaders, however, have no special functions apart from the rest. The children do not ask or answer riddles in any definite order. Any child on one side may start the game by asking a riddle which any child on the other may attempt to answer. As long as the right answer is forthcoming from the side being questioned, the others have to keep on questioning them. Finally, when a riddle has been asked which in spite of all their guesses none of the side can answer correctly, they are told to buy the solution. Thereupon they in their turn begin to ask all the riddles they know, until their opponents are also baffled. The answers of the two unsolved riddles are then exchanged in the manner described above, and the game begins all over again. It is kept up, amid much derisive laughter and childish swearing at unsuccessful guesses, until the children grow tired of it and turn to something else, the more skilful side taunting the others, "you are weak, you are no good, we have conquered you."

Kxatla riddles (*dithabalakane*) are for the most part fairly straightforward in nature. The question (*potsó*, from *xo botsa*, "to ask") consists as a rule in a simple metaphorical statement, the solution of which (*karabó*, from *xo araba*, "to answer") is a single word, the name

³ G. P. Lestrade, "Iets omtrent die Volksoorlewerings van die S.A. Bantoe", *Die Nuwe Brandwag*, I (1929), p. 271.

of some sort of object. The question is framed in the formula : *mpolélé diló, o mpolélé xore ke eng?* (tell me something, tell me what is?), the actual riddle appearing in the body of the formula. The answer follows simply : *ke* (it is so and so). E.g., *mpolélé diló, o mpolélé xore ntlo e tsweu e e senang mojakó ke eng? Ke lee.* (Tell me something, tell me what is the white hut which has no door? It is an egg). In practice the formula is often wholly omitted once it has been used with the opening riddle, and the bare question is set; or else the word *mpolélé*, "Tell me," is placed before each of the remaining riddles.

In structure and style these riddles resemble closely the Basutoland riddles published by Norton and Velaphe, the Xhosa riddles published by Godfrey, and some of the Venda and Pedi riddles recorded by Lestrade. The simple "riddles in one sentence" found by Junod amongst the BaThonga are similar in form, but the more complicated "Riddles containing two statements" (*psitekatekisana*) which he also describes do not appear to occur amongst the BaKxatla. I have also not met with any instance of the "strophic riddles" found by Endemann amongst the Transvaal BaSotho.⁴

The similarity of the Kxatla, Basutoland and Xhosa riddles is not merely one of form, but, as will be seen from the parallels given below, extends in some cases to an absolute identity of content. This would suggest that certain of the riddles at least form part of a common Southern Bantu cultural heritage, or have spread from one group to another. On the other hand, many of the Kxatla riddles are obviously quite recent in date, especially those dealing with the material civilization of the Europeans. (Attention may also be directed to the number of Afrikaans and other borrowed words in the Kxatla text). In a few instances I was even assured by my informants that the riddles they were dictating to me had been coined by themselves. Considering the extent to which the children play at riddles, it is only to be expected that the more inventive minds should endeavour to add in this way to the stock at their disposal.

Looked upon as exercises in ingenuity, few of these riddles show any outstanding merit. For the most part they are fairly crude and not very witty, although now and then one comes across a delightfully apt comparison or perhaps a biting reference to some physical or social

⁴ W. A. Norton and H. Velaphe, "Some SeSuto Riddles with their Translations," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, 21 (1924), 569—72; R. Godfrey, "Kafir Riddles," *Blythwood Rev.*, 4 (1927), 96, 108, 132; G. P. Lestrade, *op. cit.*; H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, (London, 1927), vol. II, 178—84; Chr. Endemann, "Rätsel der Sotho," *Z. EingebSpr.*, 18 (1927—8), 55—74.

peculiarity. But however simple they are most of them can be adequately appreciated only if considered against the general background of Kxatla culture. They draw their content from the elements of that culture, they describe the everyday life and the knowledge of the people, and if torn out of this context would remain quite incomprehensible, even although translated. This fact, obvious as it is, should not be overlooked. For their riddles the BaKxatla, like all other peoples, have to fall back upon their own experience, and many a reference which to us seems stupid or childish may be perfectly appropriate according to their ideas.

The riddles published here are drawn from a collection of several hundred, many of which came from two or more different informants. A number I wrote down as I watched and listened to the children at play ; many more were specially dictated to me, while the majority were obtained as the result of a competition I organized for the students of the BaKxatla National School at Mochudi. For convenience I have employed the abbreviated formula in printing them, and I have also ventured to classify them roughly according to their subject matter.

I. NATURAL PHENOMENA

(1) *Mpoléllé diló, o mpoléllé xore makuka a mabedi a le kana ke eng? Ke lexodimo le lefathse.* Tell me something, tell me what are two milk-sacks which are the same? It is Heaven and Earth. (Cf. South Sotho : *phate lia lekana*, the spread-out hides are the same : Heaven and Earth).⁵

(2) *Mpoléllé : monna o rwele marumó thlampi, xa re itse xo tswa le xo yang. Ke letsatsi.* Tell me : a man carries a bundle of spears, we do not know where he comes from and goes. It is the sun. (Cf. South Sotho : *leshomokho le hlaha Bopeli* ; *marumo le ts'oere shoahla*, the brown locust comes from the Pedi country holding a bundle of spears : the sun's rays).

(3) *Mpoléllé : p66 e e kwa bothlabatsatsi e e tsalang dinamane e di je. Ke letsatsi.* Tell me : the bull in the east which gives birth to calves and eats them. It is the sun (or the day—a reference to the daily cycle of the sun).

(4) *Mpoléllé : ka anéxa molalatšatša lapeng, ya re ke tsoxa ka seka ka o fithléla. Ke dinaledi.* Tell me : I spread out sprouted corn in my yard, when I woke up I could not find it. It is the stars.

⁵ The Sotho and Xhosa riddles are taken from the collections published by Norton and Godfrey respectively, whose spellings and translations I have retained.

(5) *Mpoléllé : pampiri tsélété, Modimo o itse xo kwala. Ke dinaledi.* Tell me : paper money, God knows how to write. It is the stars. (The words *pampiri tsélété*, from Afr. *papier*, paper, and *geld*, money, are sometimes used, as here, as a sort of opening jingle to the riddle).

(6) *Mpoléllé : thsimo e nthso e mabélé masweu. Ke lexodimo le dinaledi.* Tell me : a black garden with white corn. It is the sky and the stars.

(7) *Mpoléllé : bótólóló ya thubéxa ya tswa "twenty" stoki fa xare. Ke tladi.* Tell me : the bottle broke and twenty pieces came out. It is the lightning. (*bótólóló*, from Afr. *bottel*, bottle ; *stoki*, from Afr. *stukke*, pieces).

(8) *Mpoléllé : kwa tlase kwa Moxalakwena kwa thaka ya tsimane e janang ka dilépé. Ke tladi.* Tell me : down below, down at Moxalakwena where a troop of boys are fighting with axes. It is the lightning (when accompanied by thunder). (The name *Moxalakwena* refers to any place "down at the river.")

(9) *Mpoléllé : phatê ikalé o bo o ikalolé. Ke maru.* Tell me : mat spread yourself and then remove yourself. It is the clouds.

(10) *Mpoléllé : kitikiri nônyane ya dikxosi. Ke pula.* Tell me : *kitikiri*, bird of the chiefs. It is the rain (a reference to the rainmaking powers of the chief). An alternative answer is *sedumedi*, a noise (said to be derived from the fact "that sometimes when a great chief has died there is heard in the evening towards the north a noise like that of a cricket sinking into the earth, then all the people will know that a chief is dead.")

(11) *Mpoléllé : baloi ba lala mebitlweng. Ke pula.* Tell me : the wizards are lying in the thorns. It is the rain. (One of the standard methods of preventing the rain from falling is to put a bewitched pot somewhere in a thorn tree far out in the veld).

(12) *Mpoléllé : mabodi masweu mafoloxa ntsweng. Ke sefakó.* Tell me : the white goats that descend from the mountain. It is the hail.

(13) *Mpoléllé : ka re ke thswara monnana, monnana a re ntesé. Ke metsi.* Tell me : I tried to seize a young man, but the young man said leave me. It is the water (because when you catch it up in your hands, it trickles away through your fingers).

(14) *Mpoléllé : ke re xo itaya mpipi, mpipi xa tswé lebadi. Ke metsi.* Tell me : I try to strike the *mpipi* tree (*Boscia rehmanniana*, a conspicuous evergreen), but no scar appears. It is the water.

(15) *Mpoléllé : kxomo e thséthlana e marapó a thata. Ke metsi.* Tell me : the yellow cow with hard ribs. It is the (muddy) water.

(16) *Mpoléllé : nónyane e nka e thlobang diphuka e siané. Ke noka.* Tell me : the bird whose feathers I can pluck off while it is running. It is the river.

(17) *Mpoléllé : serope sa bokxaka ntona bo leketla bo leulcu. Ke scrétsé.* Tell me : the thigh of the big guinea-fowl which is loose and quivering. It is the mud.

(18) *Mpoléllé : kôta ya motswere ke epetswe ke thlôka le xo tloxa. Ke lentswe.* Tell me : a log of the *motswere* tree (an evergreen) I am dug for, but I cannot even stir. It is the mountain.

II. THE VEGETABLE WORLD

(19) *Mpoléllé : bana ba nkété ba bina, mmabo xa bine. Ke dikala tsa sethlare.* Tell me : the children of someone are dancing, their mother does not dance. It is the branches of a tree (rustling in the wind). (Cf. South Sotho : *nthithi a bina, moholo a dutse*, the little one sings, the big one stays still : whispering branches on steady trunks).

(20) *Mpoléllé : kxomo e talana e tsalang bana ba baswaana. Ke mosu.* Tell me : a green cow which bears white calves. It is the mimosa tree (with its white thorns).

(21) *Mpoléllé : basimanyana ba Matlou ba ba méjôxôthlwana. Ke mebitlwa ya mokxalo.* Tell me : the little boys of Matlou (a Native village in the W. Transvaal) who are left-handed. It is the thorns of the "waitabit" tree (*Zisypus mucronata*) (from their shape).

(22) *Mpoléllé : mesisi o "thousand" roko. Ke leswama.* Tell me: the mistress with a thousand dresses. It is the *leswama* bulb. (*mesisi*, from Afr. colloquial *misis*, mistress ; *roko*, from Afr. *rok*, dress).

(23) *Mpoléllé : basimane ba ba kola tsa dithsépé. Ke marémêla a dithlarc.* Tell me : the boys with white crests. It is the scars on the trees where they have been cut.

III. THE ANIMAL WORLD

(a) Insects

(24) *Mpoléllé : ka re xo batla sapô la kololo, mme xa ke le bone. Ke thsoswane.* Tell me : I looked for the bone of the klipspringer, but I could not find it. It is an insect (which has no bones).

(25) *Mpoléllé : kxomo e thswana e maoto mathlabana. Ke sebokolodi.* Tell me : the black cow with reddish-brown feet. It is the centipede.

(26) *Mpoléllé : kxomo e thswana e ya reng e e swa e nne thsêthlana. Ke sebokolodi.* Tell me : the black cow which when it dies becomes yellow. It is the centipede.

(27) *Mpoléllé : pôô e nthso e e mo kxweng se senthso. Ke nta (xe e le mo moriring).* Tell me : a black bull which is in a black thicket. It is the louse (when it is in the hair).

(28) *Mpoléllé : kxwana tse di emeng ka meriti. Ke natô.* Tell me : the white-backed cows which stand in the shade. It is the *natô* (a large caterpillar found in the *monatô* tree, a species of *Acacia*).

(29) *Mpoléllé : selona se makhuntukhuntu e kete se tla itsidila, pôô e mo xodimo xa sona mme dinaka e kete tsa pholo. Ke kxopana.* Tell me : the crooked thing seems as if it will stretch itself, a pot is on top of it, and its horns are like those of an ox. It is a snail. (*pôô*, from Afr. *pot*, pot).

(30) *Mpoléllé : manku tsweu nônyane tsa pula. Ke dirurufele.* Tell me : many white sheep, the birds of the rain. It is the butterflies.

(31) *Mpoléllé : mosadi o ka mo tsêêlang bana a seka a lle. Ke seolo.* Tell me : a woman from whom you can take her children and she will not weep. It is the anthheap (from whose base you take edible mushrooms).

(32) *Mpoléllé : Sekeleremeisi o thlako e boxale. Ke nothse.* Tell me : *Sekeleremeisi* (name of a cow) with the sharp hoof. It is the honey bee.

(33) *Mpoléllé : bašianyana ba bérékang mo lexaxeng mme dijô tsa lôna di monate. Ke dintsi tsa môôka.* Tell me : the small boys who work in a cave and their food is nice. It is the flies in the honey (in the ground). (*bérékang*, participle of *béréka*, from Afr. *werk*, to work).

(34) *Mpoléllé : sekanyanakanyana thsêlwana sea loxa jang? Ke dintsi tsa môôka.* Tell me : so very small how does it weave its hole? It is the flies of the ground-honey.

(35) *Mpoléllé : ka itaya tsitsiripane, monate wa tswa ka dinala. Ke dinothse.* Tell me : I struck the *tsitsiripane* bug, and sweetness came out by the nails. It is honey.

(36) *Mpoléllé : kxarebé ke montle, lapa ke dile ka mafura. Ke dinothse.* Tell me : I am a nice girl, I smear my yard with fat. It is the honey bee (which lines its cells with wax).

(b) *Game Animals, etc.*

(37) *Mpoléllé* : *hošadi hošalala mosimanyana o sekan a thlôka phaté. Ke mmutla.* Tell me : *hošadi hošalala* the small boy who never lacks a sleeping-mat. It is the hare. (Another version goes : *phaté ya xaxwe ke lefathse*, his sleeping-mat is the earth).

(38) *Mpoléllé* : *ka kxathla le base mo tseleng, a tsenya seatla mo pateng, ka re o nthsa boróthó, mme xa nthse sepê. Ke khudu.* Tell me : I met a master on the road, he put his hand into his pocket, I said take out some bread for me, but he took out nothing. It is the tortoise (when it draws back its head into its shell). (*base*, from Afr. *baas*, master ; *boróthó*, from Afr. *brood*, bread).

(39) *Mpoléllé* : *monna yo apereng ferofero baki. Ke khudu.* Tell me : the man who wears a multi-coloured jacket. It is the tortoise. (*baki*, from Afr. *baadjie*, coat).

(40) *Mpoléllé* : *dompi donkxótswe. Ke thlapi.* Tell me : *dompi donkxótswe* (onomatopoetic). It is the fish (plunging in the water).

(41) *Mpoléllé* : *mosimanyana wa Ranthêbêthwane o tsenyeng khwiti ka teng, a re o batla khunwana tsa xabo BaKxatla, di mmolelleng xe le kile la di bôna. Ke lesoxo (xe le batla marekhu).* Tell me : the small boy of Ranthêbêthwane who enters the thickets (by the river banks), he says that he is seeking the red cattle of his people the BaKxatla, tell him if you have seen them. It is the partridge (looking for edible gum).

(42) *Mpoléllé* : *saikóbakôba sa re ke apere jale. Ke moselekatane.* Tell me : "looking-over-itself" said I am clad in a shawl. It is the *moselekatane* bird. (*jale*, from Afr. *tjalie*, shawl).

(43) *Mpoléllé* : *mpya thsumu ke tswa kxalaxadi ke thlaxa ke tsuba-letse le mothlaba. Ke lenong.* Tell me : the white-faced dog I come from the Kalahari Desert, I come and rush over the sand. It is the vulture.

(c) *Domestic Animals*

(44) *Mpoléllé* : *basadi ke bale, seakxa thsipi o fa xare. Ke pôô.* Tell me : there are the women, the swinger of the bell is in the midst of them. It is the bull.

(45) *Mpoléllé* : *mothlwane wa se omélla dikala. Ke dinaka tsa kxomo.* Tell me : the wild olive has got withered branches. It is the horns of the cow (which are devoid of any covering).

(46) *Mpoléllé : lenga la selókó, masita a kxwéthla. Ke dixwéthla tsa kxomo.* Tell me : furrows of the black turf, puzzles which agitate. It is the hanging horns of a cow.

(47) *Mpoléllé : makxarebé a mané a ntseng setulo se le sengwe. Ke mabele a kxomo.* Tell me : four virgins sitting on one chair. It is the udders of the cow. (*setulo*, from Afr. *stoel*, chair or stool).

(48) *Mpoléllé : mmanthso wa dilókó phutha kxama e sa nāwé. Ke mangamu a kxomo.* Tell me : black mother of the black turf, gather (the skin of) the hartebeest so that it does not get wet. It is the skin on the udders of the cow.

(49) *Mpoléllé : mookana mpholotsana kwa tlase ke beile sotho. Ke moxatla wa kxomo.* Tell me : the narrow little *mooka* tree (*Acacia karoo*), down below I have got a bush. It is the tail of a cow (with its bushy end).

(50) *Mpoléllé : a bolla Manakedi a thlóka modisa. Ke dikolobe.* Tell me : the Manakedi are going out, but they lack a herdboy. It is the pigs. (*Manakedi*, "polecats," is the name of a *kxóró* or lineage group of the BaKxatla whose family of legitimate headmen has died out, hence they are likened to the pigs, who roam about with no one to herd them).

(51) *Mpoléllé : tlase di xalaxala di anyisa boxoma. Ke dikolotswane.* Tell me : down below they are screaming a lot, they suckle burweed. It is the young pigs.

(52) *Mpoléllé : ke rile ke le mo tlung ka utlwa nkété e mpitsa kwa ntle, ke rile xe ke tswéla kwa ntle ka fithléla molomo e le lerapó, ditedu e le nama, moriri e le nama. Ke mokoko.* Tell me : when I was in the hut I heard someone calling me outside, when I came out I found that the mouth was a bone, the beard was flesh and the hair was flesh. It is the cock.

(53) *Mpoléllé : tónókotónóko lapeng. Ke kxoxo.* Tell me : *tónóko-tónóko* (onomatopoetic) in the yard. It is the fowl.

IV. CROPS AND OTHER FOODS

(54) *Mpoléllé : pitika tsena ka kxóró, bana hee, baxolo ra sóka dithlóxo. Ke tlala.* Tell me : roll over, enter by the gate, the children said hee, we adults bowed our heads sadly. It is starvation.

(55) *Mpoléllé : Patereisi kxomo ya basadi. Ke mabélé.* Tell me : Patereisi (name of cow) cow of the women. It is Kafir-corn.

(56) *Mpoléllé : lea phuphuséla le kxathla mothai wa lona. Ke mabélé.* Tell me : it grows up and delights its holder. It is Kafir-corn.

(57) *Mpoléllé : kxetsana ya xa mmaxo yo o tla sekang wa e tsosa. Ke lebéle.* Tell me : the sack of your mother which you must not raise up. It is an ear of Kafir-corn.

(58) *Mpoléllé : sapô le kwa teng, mókô o kwa ntle. Ke mmopo.* Tell me : the bone is inside, the marrow is outside. It is the mealie.

(59) *Mpoléllé : mosadi yo o tswang England yo o tsweleng "thousand."* *Ke mmopo.* Tell me : the woman coming from England who has put on a thousand (petticoats). It is the mealie.

(60) *Mpoléllé : fêna mosese o jê monate. Ke mmopo.* Tell me : strip off the skirt and eat the sweetness. It is the mealie.

(61) *Mpoléllé : baloi ba rathathanna lexaxeng. Ke dithôtsé.* Tell me : the wizards are quarreling inside the cave. It is the melon seeds (as they crackle inside the pot where they are being cooked).

(62) *Mpoléllé : sea tampatampa sea tsallafale. Ke thôtsé.* Tell me : it stretches and stretches and bears here and there. It is the melon.

(63) *Mpoléllé : se sena molomo metsi se a tsaya kae? Ke lexapu.* Tell me : it has no mouth, yet where does it get water? It is the water-melon. (Cf. South Sotho : *Soko se metsi, se a nka kae? S.* is full of water ; where does it go? The watermelon).

(64) *Mpoléllé : metsi matala le fising. Ke lethlodî.* Tell me : green water on the fireplace. It is the beans (being cooked on the fire and discolouring the water).

(65) *Mpoléllé : kxaka ya se éma ka nkoto, serope ke ntsétsénéné. Ke lchoa.* Tell me : the guineafowl that stands on one leg, its thigh is very tasty. It is the edible mushroom.

(66) *Mpoléllé : talatala le selemo. Ke toroko.* Tell me : green, green, even in summer. It is the prickly pear. (*toroko*, from Afr. *turksvy*).

(67) *Mpoléllé : kxomo e talana e e ya reng xe e yo thlaolélwa xo tsewa marumô a othle. Ke toroko.* Tell me : the green cow which when it is separated all the spears come out. It is the prickly pear.

(68) *Mpoléllé : thlothlora bupe o jê kxetse. Ke moxodu.* Tell me : shake out the meal and eat the sack. It is the cow's stomach (after the cud has been removed). (Cf. Xhosa : *nditenga inxowa yomgubo ndize ndiwucite ungubo, ndidle inxowa. Lulusu lungekaqaqwa kuze lakuqaqwa*

kucitwe okupakati. I buy a bag of meal, I throw away the meal and eat the bag. The intestines of a sheep which, after being cleaned out, are eaten).

(69) *Mpoléllé : pitse e tsweu e e ya reng xe e tséna mo setaleng e nne phithswa. Ke boróthó (xe bo besiwa).* Tell me : the white horse which when it goes into the stable becomes brown. It is bread (when it is baked). (*setaleng*, loc., from Afr. *stal*, stable ; *boróthó*, from Afr. *brood*, bread).

(70) *Mpoléllé : maxodi marakanna thswaxong. Ke mafši.* Tell me : the birds that keep together in the hollow tree. It is milk (the portions from different cows all being collected together into the same pail).

(71) *Mpoléllé : hachae Béntcrok kxomoya MaBuru. Ke kofi.* Tell me : haihai, Béntcrok (name of cow), cow of the Boers. It is coffee. (*kofi* from Afr. *koffie*).

V. THE HUMAN BODY

(72) *Mpoléllé : kxomo tse thswaana tse di póó khunou. Ke leleme le ménó.* Tell me : the white cows with a red bull. It is the tongue and the teeth. (Cf. South Sotho : *banna ba basweu ba lehaheng le lefubelu*, the white men in the red cave : the teeth).

(73) *Mpoléllé : motšóthló o kwa ntsweng o o binang kxadimpapetla. Ke leleme.* Tell me : the *motšóthló* tree on the hill which is dancing up and down. It is the tongue.

(74) *Mpoléllé : póó e khunou e e phadisang tse dingwe ka xo bópa. Ke leleme.* Tell me : the red bull which surpasses the others in bellowing. It is the tongue.

(75) *Mpoléllé : makau a mabedi a a ntseng setulo se le sengwe a e ka reng noka e tletse a e thsela mme a boa ka bonakó. Ke mathló.* Tell me : two young men sitting on one stool who when the river is full pass over it and quickly return. It is the eyes. (Cf. Xhosa : *ndina' bafu bam babini bawela nokuba umlambo sowuzele kangakananina*.—Amehlo. Guess my two young fellows that cross the river, no matter how high it may be.—The eyes).

(76) *Mpoléllé : dinónyane tse di fulang xoló xo se xaufe. Ke mathló.* Tell me : birds which graze on a place that is not near. It is the eyes.

(77) *Mpoléllé : monna o ntang photi di feta. Ke nkó.* Tell me : the man who lets the buck go by. It is the nose (when it lets the tears roll by).

(78) *Mpoléllé : ka re xo xadimaxadima Mankane xa ke mmone. Ke kxorikxori.* Tell me : I tried to look behind for Mankane but I could not see her. It is the nape of the neck. (Cf. South Sotho : *ka re ka tila-tila mangoane ha ke 'mone*, I tried in vain to see my mother's sister, that is, fellow wife : the back of my head).

(79) *Mpoléllé : basimane ba ba lesome ba ba kuane di ka kwa moraxó. Ke dinala.* Tell me : ten boys who have hats at the back. It is the nails (of the fingers).

(80) *Mpoléllé : diphiri tse thlano tse di tsénang mo mosimeng o le mongwe. Ke menwana.* Tell me : five hyenas which go into the same hole. It is the fingers.

(81) *Mpoléllé : sa mpya se ka kwa moraxó, sa motho se ka kwa pele. Ke mangólé.* Tell me : that of a dog is behind, that of a man in front. It is the knees.

(82) *Mpoléllé : seló se se sekang se thlókafala mo fathseng. Ke leoto la motho.* Tell me : the thing that is never away from the ground. It is the foot of a person.

(83) *Mpoléllé : kxarebana o kanametseng pateng xore makolwanyane a xo boné? Ke boxató ba lekoto.* Tell me : little girl, why do you lie on your back in the road so that the young men should see you? It is a footprint. (*pateng*, loc., from *Afr. pad*, road).

(84) *Mpoléllé : ke ya borwa ke dibéla thswana, ke be ke boé ke ntse ke e dibéla. Ke moriti.* Tell me : I go south, I take care of the black thing, I come back and still take care of it. It is my shadow. (Cf. South Sotho : *ka re ke ea le mona, e potela le 'na*, I tried to come here and he turned hither with me : my shadow).

(85) *Mpoléllé : šékêrêšékêré bolwetse bo bo senang ngaka. Ke boxólé.* Tell me : *šékêrêšékêré* (a jingle), the sickness for which there is no doctor. It is deformity (e.g., permanent lameness).

(86) *Mpoléllé : pitsana ennye e e ka sekang ya fetswa ke batho ba bothle. Ke borókó.* Tell me : the small pot which cannot be exhausted by all the people. It is sleep.

VI. DOMESTIC LIFE

(87) *Mpoléllé : thsoswane téé, engwe téé, tsa rakanna monyelenyeleng. Ke batho xe ba ya nokeng.* Tell me : an insect ran, another one ran, they met at the hole. It is people when they go to fetch water.

(88) *Mpoléllé : maruputléló a tau tse dikxolo. Ke masiléló.* Tell me : the open places of the big lions. It is the place where the girls stamp corn.

(89) *Mpoléllé : ditutumpu tsa bommaeno. Ke difala.* Tell me : the dreadful things of your mothers. It is the granaries.

(90) *Mpoléllé : bélébélé la moxatsa kxosi la tsolexa la thlôka mosedi. Ke sebiló.* Tell me : the millet of the chief's wife spilled on to the ground, there was no one to pick it up. It is blacklead (which the women mix with fat and use for smearing on their heads).

(91) *Mpoléllé : dithsipa tse pedi tse e ka re xe di lwa tsa seka tsa kxaoxangwa. Ke banyadi.* Tell me : two civet cats which when they fight are not to be separated. It is a married couple.

(92) *Mpoléllé : mpana témékwana le xe o e rata xa o ka ke wa e kxe-tla. Ke kxaitsadiamotho.* Tell me : a quivering cane, although you like it you cannot cut it. It is a man's sister (for although he loves her he cannot marry her).

(93) *Mpoléllé : mokxalo ke ne ke le montle, BaKaa ba ntséntse ka dilépé. Ke mosetsana xe a kxothse.* Tell me : I the *mokxalo* ("waitabit") tree was beautiful, the BaKaa have spoiled me with their axes. It is a girl when she has conceived. (The BaKaa living at Rasesa, near Mochudi, who have been incorporated into the BaKxatla, do the bulk of the wood-carving which supplies the people with their wooden utensils).

(94) *Mpoléllé : lethlarapa le fa xare xa lekxotla. Ke moréna.* Tell me : the thick stump which is in the midst of the men's meeting-place. It is the chief (who is expected to be a "fixture" in the *kxotla*).

(95) *Mpoléllé : kxosi e tswetu Ramanyobo ya re xe e tloxa naka dia lla. Ke ngaka.* Tell me : the white chief Ramanyobo when he rises the horns cry out. It is the magician.

(96) *Mpoléllé : sekanyanakanyana mafoko se a tsaya kae? Ke taola.* Tell me : it is so very small, whence does it take the words? It is the divining bone.

(97) *Mpoléllé : féëla, féëla, mokoko o tsalé. Ke ditaola.* Tell me : sweep, sweep, so that the fowl should give birth. It is the divining bones. (Cf. South Sotho : *Fiella, fiella, Rankoko a tsoale*, sweep for R. to bring forth his child : divining bones cast out of the diviner's bag on to a swept floor, like children at birth).

VII. UTENSILS AND OTHER OBJECTS

(98) *Mpoléllé : pitsana ya se apéëla foodingwana. Ke peipi.* Tell me : the little pot which cooks up above. It is a pipe (*peipi*, from Afr. *pyp*).

(99) *Mpoléllé : ke thlaba nkxwé molala madi a tswa fa ke sa thlabang teng. Ke motsokwe.* Tell me : I pierce the neck of the white-backed ox but the blood runs out where I do not pierce. It is tobacco (when you snuff it up through the nose and the tears run from your eyes).

(100) *Mpoléllé : namanyane e tletse xaisi ya lexxoxa. Ke mollo.* Tell me : the little calf which fills the house of the white people. It is fire. (*xaisi*, from Afr. *huis*, house).

(101) *Mpoléllé : monna o motelle hihó. Ke mosi.* Tell me : the tall man hee-haw. It is the smoke.

(102) *Mpoléllé : pitsana e e tlang ntlo e nnosi. Ke leboné.* Tell me : a small pot which by itself fills a hut. It is a lamp. (Cf. No. 100).

(103) *Mpoléllé : thswene kotama bana ba itumélé. Ke pitsa xe e le mo isong.* Tell me : baboon, squat on your haunches, so that the children may rejoice. It is the pot when it is on the fire.

(104) *Mpoléllé : ka di thsêla maokeng tsa boa tsa mpharafara. Ke molóra.* Tell me : I threw them under the *mooka* (acacia) trees, they came back and surrounded me. It is the ashes (when you have thrown them out and the wind blows them back again).

(105) *Mpoléllé : lefuka la tladi marósé. Ke leséló.* Tell me : the wing of the lightning-bird is full of holes. It is a sieve.

(106) *Mpoléllé : seló se se dutlang ka mmele othle. Ke mothlóló.* Tell me : the thing that leaks through its whole body. It is a beer-strainer. (Cf. South Sotho : *senyaka 'mele*, urinating through its whole body : a beer-strainer ; and Xhosa : *ndina' nto yam ivuza amanzi ngembambo. Intluzo xa kuhluzwayo*. What oozes water through its ribs ? A beer-strainer when straining).

(107) *Mpoléllé : mosimane o katwang ka feisi pele xe a tla ja. Ke lemépé.* Tell me : the boy who must be beaten with the fist before he eats. It is a peg. (*feisi*, from Afr. *vuis*, fist).

(108) *Mpoléllé : koko e llang ka nthla ya leleme. Ke semókó.* Tell me : the fowl that cries with the end of its tongue. It is a whip. (*semókó*, from Afr. *sambok*, whip).

(109) *Mpoléllé : kxéthe kxére ke tswa Mokwena. Ke phaló.* Tell me : *kxéthe kxére* (onomatopoetic) I come from the BaKwena. It is the scraping iron (from the sound it makes when used for scraping the hair from skins).

(110) *Mpoléllé : phókwana bélébélétsa e re o lebile noka o kxaotse. Ke sexó sa metsi.* Tell me : little ram bleat, but when you see the river keep quiet. It is a scoop for water. (The bleating stands for the scraping of the scoop against the sides of the empty waterpot, but when the woman comes to the river she uses the scoop for pouring water into the pot, and then it becomes silent. An alternative answer to the same riddle is *rampetšane*, sandals : the sandals make a noise as long as they are on the feet, but when you enter the river you take them off lest they become wet, and so you make them become silent).

(111) *Mpoléllé : photi e e marobaló mangwe. Ke lebatl.* Tell me : the buck which has a single sleeping-place. It is a door.

(112) *Mpoléllé : nōxa e ya reng xe e kxaoxile moxatla e seke e tsamae. Ke nêlêlê.* Tell me : a snake which when its tail is removed cannot walk. It is a needle. (*nêlêlê*, from Afr. *naald*, needle). (Cf. Xhosa : *ndina* 'hashe lam elingenakupala, lingenamsila. Inaliti ayinakutunga ingenamso-nto. Guess the horse that cannot gallop, if it lacks a tail. A needle that cannot sew without a thread).

(113) *Mpoléllé : seja sékaname. Ke thsipi.* Tell me : the eater of *sekaname* (the bulb *Urginea sanguinea*). It is the iron trap. (Most BaKxatla smear the teeth of their traps with *sekaname* in the hope that this will add to their efficacy).

(114) *Mpoléllé : kxomo e nwang e bobola. Ke modutó.* Tell me : the cow which drinks and is sick. It is a water-bottle.

VIII. THE WHITE MAN'S CULTURE

(115) *Mpoléllé : nariḽa e tanweng ke e suleng, e suleng e tannwe ke e utkweng. Ke pitse, sale, motho.* Tell me : that which walks is ridden by that which is dead, that which is dead is ridden by that which is alive. It is a horse, saddle, person. (*sale*, from Afr. *saal*, saddle).

(116) *Mpoléllé : kôrwê xe a tso xo tsoma o feta a re kôtswé. Ke thipa.* Tell me : the bustard when it comes from hunting shuts itself up. It is a knife.

(117) *Mpoléllé : pampiri tšélété lefathse le senyéxa. Ke moxoma.* Tell me : paper, money, the earth is getting spoiled. It is the plough.

(118) *Mpoléllé : phólóxóló e ya reng xe e xóthlôla e nthse dijô ka serota. Ke "plane."* Tell me : the animal which when it coughs sends out food through the hump. It is the carpenter's plane (the English word is used).

(119) *Mpoléllé : ntata nthutê pula, nthutê pula ya medupe. Ke setoromole.* Tell me : father, teach me rain, teach me misty rain. It is a water-drum. (*setoromole*, from Afr. *trommel*, barrel or drum. The BaKxatla buy empty petrol drums from the traders, and store water in these during the dry season or when they are out at their gardens away from the regular sources of water).

(120) *Mpoléllé : kxomo tse ditsweu tse dithlôxô dinthso. Ke dithlôkwa tsa mollô.* Tell me : the white cattle with black heads. It is matches (lit., stalks of fire).

(121) *Mpoléllé : mmaxwé a xóthlôla, nguana a tswa a thlaba. Ke thlobôró.* Tell me : his mother coughed, the child came out and ran away. It is a rifle.

(122) *Mpoléllé : thsimo e tsweu e mabêlé manthso. Ke borifi.* Tell me : a white field with black corn. It is a letter. (*borifi*, from Afr. *brief*, letter).

(123) *Mpoléllé : phólóxóló e ya reng xo jewa ke manong le xo fetsa xa e fetswe. Ke bēnkêlé.* Tell me : an animal which when eaten by the vultures cannot be finished. It is the trader's store. (*bēnkêlé*, from Afr. *winkel*, shop). Cf. South Sotho : *bokalakatana ba pere matlaka a be rutha, ha a be qete*, the vultures tear at the skull of a horse, but cannot finish it : a store which the Native buyers cannot exhaust).

(124) *Mpoléllé : photsana e mala a yona a ka tlang leisô. Ke tšélété.* Tell me : a kid whose stomach can fill a fireplace. It is money.

(125) *Mpoléllé : Pitoria bula bēnkêlé moxatsa kxosi o e tla. Ke tšélété.* Tell me : Mr. Pretorius open your shop, the wife of the chief is coming. It is money. Mr. C. S. Pretorius, known to the Natives as *Pitoria*, is a long-established trader at Mochudi).

(126) *Mpoléllé : lesóbóróthlô lekxólé e thata. Ke "brake."* Tell me : a strong man, a strong riem. It is the brake (of a wagon).

(127) *Mpoléllé : ka kôpana le mosadi a lla, ka re o llélang, a re ke lléla thoto tsa makxowa. Ke koloï.* Tell me : I met a woman crying, I said for what are you crying, she said I am crying for the goods of the White people. It is a wagon (when it needs grease).

(128) *Mpoléllé : phika tse pedi tse di bapallaneng. Ke sepôró.* Tell me : two pythons which are standing by each other. It is the track (of a wagon). (*sepôró*, from Afr. *spoor*, track, trail).

(129) *Mpoléllé : kxomo e tswa Bolawane e tswa mosi ka thlôxó. Ke setiméla.* Tell me : the cow that comes from Buluwayo and sends smoke out of its head. It is a train. (*setiméla*, from English *steam*. The main line from the Union into Rhodesia passes through the Ba-Kxatla Reserve).

CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF THE !XAM BUSHMEN

From material collected by

Dr. W. H. I. BLEEK and Miss L. C. LLOYD between 1870 and 1880

Edited by D. F. BLEEK

Part III. GAME ANIMALS

Dictated by *Diä!kwain*, a Bushman from the Katkop hills.

Sa:-ka kum.

*I kaŋ ||nau, i |xǎ: sá:, itən k''auki
!ahí siŋ ha !nwa. Ta: i |ku ||nau,
i: |xǎ: ha, itən |ku -tai !gwe !khe:
ha !nwa; i ||nau, ti e: ha siŋ ≠ko:
siŋ 1.ε, o itən ka, i |xǎ ha, i |ku
||nau, i |nī: ||kabbakən ta:, i: |ku
k''auki ho: ||kabba.*

*Ta: i |ku xú: -||kabba, i -am
≠xammǎ |gum, o itən ka, i se ho:
||k'e: !nwa: o |gum, o itən ka !nwa:
siŋ ||khóě tā: |gum. I |ku ||nau,
!nwa:ŋ ||khóě ta: |gum, i !kan
||khóě tā ha, o !nwa: kuitən, o itən
ka !nwa: a:, i |xǎ: sa: ā:, ha siŋ
||khóě ta: !nwa: kuitən, o itən ka
!khwe k''auki se |nī ha; i se |ki ||e
ha o ||khwai, o !khwe k''auki |nī
ha, i se |e !ho ha o ||khwai.*

*!kwija: |ka ||nau ha |e !hóǎ !nwa:,
o ||khwai, ha: |ku !ahai !ho ||khwai,
ha: !küitən ||neiŋ. Haŋ ||nau, ha
!küitən -||a:, haŋ k''auki -||nuabba,
ta: ha |ku tamse -tai; haŋ k''auki*

The eland's story.

When we have shot an eland we do not cross its spoor. But when we have shot it we walk on one side of its spoor; if it has sprung aside at the place where we think we shot it, when we see a bone arrowhead lying there, we do not pick it up.

We leave the arrowhead, we first fetch a leaf (?), for we want to pick up the arrow together with the leaf (?), lying on the leaf (?). When the arrow is lying on the leaf (?), we lay it on another arrow, for we want the arrow with which we shot the eland to lie on another arrow, for we do not want the wind to see it, so we try to get it to the quiver and put it in without the wind seeing it.

When the man has put the arrow into the quiver he slings it on and returns home. On his way back he does not hurry, but goes along quietly; he does not

!kauru-ĩ:, ta: ha |kuu tãmse ||k'o'en
ti e: ha ||k'o'en hɛ, o haŋ ka, sa:
k''auki siŋ ||k'o'en kúĩ k''wãŋ ha-há,
sa: siŋ ||k'o'en kúĩ k''wãŋ, ti e:,
sa: -||kwaŋ tã:, ti e:, ha |ĩ: k''auki
taŋ !hammĩ. Ta: !gauðkən !kan
!khi: ha |ĩ:, haŋ k''auki |ne ≠enna,
ti e:, ha siŋ !hammĩ.

!kwija |kuu ||nau, ha |kɔ: ||a: o
||neiy, ha |kuu !gwe siŋ ||neiy.
|nu|nuk''okən e: ε !ke!kerritən, hɛ:
|kuu ||nau, o hɛ ||k'o'en, ti e:, ha
-saŋ !gwe siŋ ||neiy, hɛ: |kuu |kam
||e ha, o !kaukən k''auki ||na hɛ.
|ka:kaŋ k''auki ||na hɛ, ta: hɛ e:
|k²e-ta tukən !ke!kerritən |kuu e:,
||a: !kwi a: |xã: sa:; o hiŋ ka, hɛ
se ||a tú, ts²a a:, ha k''auki ká ha
sé ||neiy ã:.

Hɛ hɛ !ke ||a ha, hiŋ tu:tu ha, ti
e:, ts²a de |nõ a:, dá: ha, hɛ ha
k''auki ká ha |ne ||e ||neiy, !kwi a:
|xã: sa:, ha-g |ne kuku, há: ≠kaka
|nu|nuk''okən ã:, o haŋ k''auki
≠kakən ||wẽ:ĩ, ta: ha |kuu ≠kakən
kú:ĩ !xwaŋ ha taŋ; haŋ |kuu tãmse
≠kaka hɛ ã:; haŋ |k'e:ja hɛ ã:, ti
e:, oho -dóá a: ||kenjã ha !nwa; hɛ
tikən e:, ha -sán sue:ŋ, i:; o ha:
k''auki kuku, ha: |k'e:ja !ke!kerritən
ã:, 'ŋ kaŋ |xã: sa:.' Ha k''auki
|kwẽ:ĩ ku, ta: ha |kuu i: ≠kaka hɛ
ã:, ti e:, oho a: ||kenjã ha, hɛ tikən
e:, ha k''auki taŋ, ha ká, ha ||e
||neiy, i:.

!ke!kerrita: |kuu ||nau, ha |kwẽ:ĩ
ku, ha: ≠kaka hɛ ã:, hɛ |kuu
-≠kerre ||khwai, o hiŋ ka hɛ ||k'o'en,
ts²a a: ha |xã: ha, ha |khu, o
-||kabba. ||xaukən e: ||nã -||kabba,

look around, but gazes quietly at
what he sees, for he thinks that
otherwise the eland would not
look as he does, but look as if it felt
that its heart were not afraid. For
the poison is killing its heart, it
does not know that it is afraid.

When the man arrives at home
he stands opposite the hut. As
soon as the old men, the heads of
the family, see him standing
opposite the hut, they go out to
him and the children are not with
them. Neither are the women
with them, for only the grown-up
men go to the man who has shot
the eland; for they want to ask
him why he has not come to the
hut.

So they go up to him to ask him
what has happened to him that he
does not want to come to the huts.
The man who shot the eland talks
to the old men, but does not
speak loud, he speaks as if he were
in pain; he speaks quietly to them;
he tells them that a bush must
have pricked his foot, that is why
he must sit down; he does not say
to the old men, "I have shot an
eland." He does not do that, but
merely tells them that a bush has
pricked him, and that is why he
does not feel able to enter the hut.

When he says this an old man
says to the others, that they must
look into the quiver, for they want
to see the hair of the thing which
he has shot on the arrow shank.

hiŋ e:, !ka!kanna o tsʔa-ka |khukən.
 he |khukay e:, he ≠kerre _||gauē
 he, he se ||k'o'en tsʔa a: |khu e, he
 se ≠en tsʔa a: !kwi |xā: ha.

The blood on the shank holds some of the thing's hair, that is what they seek, to see what animal's hair it is, to know what the man has shot.

Hé he |kuu ||nau, he k''auki ≠ke:
 |hiŋ !nwā: o ||khwai, he |kuu tamse
 !kwai!kwai ≠ke:≠ke: |hiŋ !nwā:,
 o hiŋ ka, he se ||k'o'en. Hé he |kuu
 ||nau, he ||k'o'enjā -||kabba, he |kuu
 ||k'o'en, ti e: sa: _dā a:, !kwi |xā:
 ha, hé he |kuu ||xā:ŋ |ki e: !nwā:
 o ||khwai.

Then they do not pull the arrows out of the quiver, they pull them a little one by one, in order to look at them. And when they have looked at the shank and seen that it was an eland that the man had shot, then they put the arrow into the quiver again.

!kerri ko:, ha: ||nau !kwi-ka
 ||ahí:, ha: xammi, |ki |e: he o
 ||koroko. !ke!kerritay kay ≠kaka
 ha ā:, ha: k''auki siŋ ||khu||khu
 ||wē.ĩ, ta: ha ||nau, ha: ||khu||khu
 ||wē.ĩ, sa:gən ||xam ||khu||khu
 ||wē.ĩ, ti e:, ha ||khu||khu |ki !kwiŋ,
 i:, hiŋ e:, sa: ||xam k''auki ||khu-
 ||khu ||wē.ĩ, i:.

Another old man takes the man's apron and rolls it up sticking it into the belt (?). The old men tell him that he must not pass water freely, for if he did so, the eland would also pass water freely, if he passed water with difficulty (?), then the eland too would not pass water freely.

Ta:, ti e:, ha i:ja, i:, hiŋ e:,
 _||gauōkən !kan |khi: sa:, i:, ta:
 _||gauōkən !kan !haŋ-a sa: ||khuru-
 kən, he ha k''auki -|ki ti e:, ha se
 ||khu i:.

For if he acted so, then the poison would hold and kill the eland, for the poison would hold its bladder shut, and it would not open to pass water.

He !ke!kerritən |kuu da: !kwi ā:
 ||neiŋ, o ti e: |xarra, he !kaukən
 k''auki !ke!ke sa: ha, i:, !kauka:
 siŋ ||kerri-ĩ ha, i:. |nuk''o ko: |ũŋ
 hĩ |kwi a: |xā: sa:, o ha: ka, ha:
 siŋ di akka ha ā:, |i. !kwi:ja: |km
 k''wāŋ ha: taŋ, !kwi !kerrija: !kʔā-
 se kúĩ k''wāŋ !kwi:ja: taŋ, o há: ka,
 há: siŋ ||ke:ja !kwi ā: |i.

Then the old men make a hut for the man at a different place, to which the children do not come to make a noise. An old man sleeps with the man who shot the eland, for he means to look after the fire for him. The man seems to be in pain, the old man takes care of him as if he were ill, for he warms him at the fire.

Ta: |kaggən |ki k''auki se -ā:
 !kwi se @pwoin; ta: ha ká ha siŋ
 tsí-ĩ: !kwi, o há: ka, !kwi se _dar-

For the Mantis will not let the man sleep, but keeps biting the man, because he wants him to

rakən, sá: se ||xəm darrakən. ||k'e: ko:, haŋ dī kúí taytaŋ ɔmuɪŋ a: tsí: !kwi. !kwitən ||nau, haŋ ki tã:, ti e:, tī taŋ, ɔmuɪŋ a: tsí: ha, haŋ k''auki |kwaiitən, ta: ha |ku tamse korokən ha !kauigən e:, ha tã:, ti e: tʃweŋ tsí:-i ha.

move, that the eland may also move. Sometimes he appears as a louse that is biting the man. Even if the man feels that a louse seems to be biting him, he does not scratch, but gently wriggles his body a little where he feels that something is biting him.

Haŋ ɸenna, ti e:, ɔmuɪŋ k''auki é, ta: |kaggən |ku á:, dī si kwəkwai-ta, ha ā:, o |kakakən ka, há: siŋ ka, ha: ɸi:, ɔmuɪŋ e, ha se |kã-ā ɔmuɪŋ, ha se |kha ɔmuɪŋ, o há: ka, há: ɸi:, ɔmuɪŋ e. O ti e:, |kaggən |kwẽ-i k''okən dī:, i:, o haŋ ka, sa: se |koãŋ |hiŋ o !kwija |kha: ɔmuɪŋ, o haŋ ɸenna, ti e:, ɔmuɪŋ e |kerri. He tikən e:, há ka !kwi se |kha ɔmuɪŋ, ɔmuɪŋ !gau se ||na-||na !kwi |k'a|k'a, e: ha siŋ !kanna o !nwã:, i:, haŋ |xí: sa:, i:, ɔmuɪŋ !gau se |e: !nwã:, he se dī ku tã serritən o !gauökən.

He knows that it is not a louse, but it is the Mantis who is trying to cheat him, for the Mantis wants him to think it is a louse and to catch it and kill it, thinking it to be a louse. When the Mantis behaves like this, he wants the eland to get up as the man kills the louse, and he knows that the louse is vermin. So he thinks the man will kill the louse, its blood will be on his hands with which he grasped the arrow when he shot the eland, the blood will enter the arrow and cool the poison.

!kerritən ||nau, ha ||k'o'en, ti e:, ti k''waŋ |kaggən ||k'werre -i, haŋ ||ke: |i, o hán ka, |i se ||xarra |kaggən, |kaggən k''auki se ||k'werre -i, ha: tsi-i: i tsaxaitən, i-ka tikəntikən e:, ha dī si ||k'o'en||k'o'en o t, i:. Ha: ||nau, i-ka tikəntikən-ka ku:, ha: tsi:-i: he, o há ka, t: se |kã ā, he:, i-ka ti e:, ha ɸenna, ti e:, i ka, i se ||nau, t: |kã-ā: he, sa: kə:ö -!kəau. Ha: ||ki:-i -i, o ha: |a, t: siŋ |kã|kã-i:, i-ka ti é:, i tã:, ti e:, tī taŋ, ts'a tsí: he, ta: i tū: -||kwaŋ taŋ. Itən ||nau, itən ki tã:, ti e:, i tū: ki taŋ, itən k''auki |kã-|kã-i: i-ka ti e:, i tã:, ti taŋ, ts'a tsi: he.

When the old man sees that the Mantis seems to be teasing us, he makes up the fire, for he wants it to drive the Mantis away, so that he may not tease us, he is biting our eyes, with which he makes us look about. He bites all parts of us, for he wants us to take hold of that part, he knows that if we do so then the eland will live. He pricks us for he wants us to catch hold of that part of our body where we feel that something is biting us, because our skin smartens. Even if we feel our skin smarting, we must not touch that part where something seems to bite us.

|nuk''owa-g |ne ||nau, !gauē
!khwaija, ha: |k'e: |nuk''o ko:, ha
kukú, ha |k'e:ja ha, ā: 'A kōō: hō:
|i, a se ||a |ki ||ka, ti |ke:, ta:
η kaη tamse !khāū i ||kā: d:-a.'
!kwija |kuu _tai kú k''wāη ha: taη;
ha: |kuu ||a||appam kō _tai, o haη
ka, sá: siη ||xam ||a||appam, sa:
k''auki siη !kōā!kōā ||kho, o ||khwe-
tən, sá: siη |kuu ≠k''am kō _tai.

!k²e ||nau, hē: _tai !ahí s²o: sa:
!nwa, hē k''auki -a: !kwi a: |xā:
sa:, ha siη !ahí s²o: sa: !nwa. Ta:
ha |kuu _tai |ki |kō: ||a: !k²e, o ti
e:, ha siη xu: sa: !nwa, ī: . Haη |kuu
kukú, haη |k'e:ja !k²e ā:, 'U kaη
se _tai ||e, o ti |ke: ā, u se ||k'oēn,
ti e:, u-g |nō k''au se tā: sa: !nwa,
o ti |ke: ā: ta: η _||kwaη sin xu:
sa: !nwa, o ti |ke: ā.'

!kwi ||nau, ha: |kwē:ī ku, ha
|k'e:ja !k²e kuitən ā:, ha |kuu _tai
||xī: !khe o ti e:, !kwi !kerri kō: _tai
|ki ||a: ha, ī: . !k²eja |kuu ||a, -|kā-ā
sa: !nwa; hē |kuu !ahí tiη hē, o !kwi
a: |xā: sa:, ha: k''auki ||e||e sa:
!nwa. Ta:, !k²e kuitən |kuu e:,
!konnā o sa: !nwa, hē |kuu ||e ti e:,
sa: -!ku:kən ta: hē; o !kwi a: |xā:
sa:, ha: k''auki ||e||e !k²e e: !ahí
s²o: sa: !nwa.

!k²e |kuu ||nau, hē: |na: sa:, o sa:
ta:, hē |kuu -ā: !kwi a: |xā: sa:, ha
|kuu kaη sue:η, o ha: k''auki se sé
ti e:, !k²e ā |ki sa:, ī: . Ta:, ti e:,
!k²e |ne ā |khu|khurru sa:, ī, hē
hē ā |hiη sa: |ī:, ī:, hē e:, ha |ne
||a:, !k²e e: ā |ki sa:, ī:, o sa:
|ī:jā: e: |hā: ; o hiη !hammī:, ti e:
sa: ε ts²a a: |ki _|kō:ōde, ha |ki é.

When day is breaking the old man speaks to another old man and says to him, "You must take a brand and go and light a fire over there, for I want to cook a little for our brother there!" The man walks as if he were ill; he limps, for he wants the eland to limp too, not to trot far off, but to stumble along.

The men going to follow the eland spoor do not let the man who shot it follow the spoor. But he takes the men towards the place where he left the eland's spoor. He says to the others, "You must go in this direction to see whether you cannot find the eland's spoor over there, for I left the eland's spoor over there."

When the man has told the others about it, he walks back to the place to which the other old man has gone. The men go on picking up the eland's spoor, while the man who shot it does not follow. But the others hold to the spoor, they go to the place where the eland lies dead; while the man who shot it does not go with them.

When the men see the eland lying there, the man who shot it is sitting (at home), and does not come to the place where they are cutting it up. When they have cut it to pieces and cut out the heart, then he joins the men who are cutting it up, after the heart is out because they are afraid that it is a thing which has (?).

Ha |kwāin e; he !hammi: he o sa; ti e; he k''auki ka, ha |kwāi se ||na||na sa; o sa: k''auki |ā |khu-|khurruwa. Ta: he ≠enna, ti e; |kaggən ||na sa; o sa:gən ki -|ku:kən ta:. Tikəntikən e; |xam-ka !k²e dī: he, hé he !nařra-se ts²a, o hīy ka, ts²a a siy -||k²uwa. Ta; ts²a |ki ||nau, háy ki -|ku:kən ta; i -|kwcāin ||ne||ne: ha, i -|kwāin |ki kōāi ha.

|xam-ka !k²etən ||nau, o he: k''auki |ā sa; hīy |ku ||nau, o sa:gən !naunko ≠urru, o he k''auki |khau !ho, o sa; he _am, _mai-i he |khau |kəm sa: !khwi. He ||nau sa: !khwi, he: !kaukən-ā sa; o sa: !khwi. Hīy ||nau, he !kaukən-ī: sa: o sa: !khwi, hīy |xwāy he !gwi; o ti e: he !gwi, ti e; he _say |kwē:ī da, he !gwi, ī:; o he hā: sa:-ka swey, hīy e; he |kwē:ī dakən !gwi; ī:; ta: he |ki !kaukən ||kuwi sa; o ha !khwi.

'||k'oenjau, sa: i; u siy kay |k'e; ha kōāi, ti e; ha-g |ne |kwē:ī u, ī:. Ta; u stīy ka, ha hā: kōāi, o-g y |k'e:ja hu, ti e; ha |ku a: !kwē:ī u, hay -||k²uwa; ukən |ne ≠nwāi y, o-g y |k'e:ja hu, ti e; sa: _do a -||k²uwa. Han |ku ||nau ti e; ha !harrowa, he tikən e; ti ||khōā ha kōāi, ī:.'

O t-ka ||gáuā||gáuā -||kau tiy ts²a, itən go:ā ts²a. I-ta ||gáuākən |ki kōāi ts²a. He tikən e; |xam-ka !k²e ka ||nau, he: |nā: ts²a, o ts²a -|ku:kən ta; he |ku ||nau, he k''auki ||e ts²a, o he ta |nī ha e:

It is his scent they fear for the eland, so they do not want his scent to come near it till it is cut up. For they know that the Mantis is with the eland as it lies dying. These things Bushmen do to show respect for the things, for they want it to be fat. But when anything lies dying, if our scent comes to it, our scent makes it lean.

Before the Bushmen cut the eland, while it is still whole and they have not yet opened it, they first just cut off the eland's tail. They take the tail and beat the eland with the tail. When they beat the eland with his tail, it seems to sigh just as they are used to sigh; when they eat eland's fat then they sigh like that, so they beat the eland with its tail to fatten it. (The man who beats the eland with its tail, puts down the tail, takes a knife, cuts the eland open and says:)

"Look, the eland which you said would be lean is like this. For you said it would be lean, while I told you it would be fat like this; you contradicted me when I said that the eland was fat. Because its sides looked hollow, it seemed to be lean."

If our shadow falls on anything we hurt (?) it. Our shadow makes it lean. Therefore when Bushmen see anything lying dead, they do not go up to it as soon as they see it; but they lay their things down

ta:; he |ku saŋ tē: he-ka tswen, o
ti e: |xarra. !kwi a: !kwai, haŋ
|ku a:; !ke ||a ts²a.

Haŋ ||nau, ha: k''auki |hiŋ ti e:;
||kō:īŋ !khe: he, ta:; ha ī: |hiŋ ts²a
||kō:īŋ e:; ||kō:īŋ k''auki !khe he.
Han !ke ||a ts²a, o haŋ ka, ha |nā:
!k²antara se ī: ||na||na ts²a ||kō:īŋ
e:; ||k²ōīŋ k''auki ||nā he, o ka, ha
se am !k²āī ||gauē suen o ts²a, o
há-ka ||gáúá k''auki -||kau tiŋ ts²a.
Ha !k²āī ts²a, o !k²e kuitaŋ k''auki
||na.

!k²e kuitaŋ |ku ||nau, !kwi kō:
!k²āī |ki sa:; o ha ká ha ||k'oen
ti e:; sa:-g |nō k''au -||k²uwa, hiŋ
|ku ||k'oen |ki, ti e: |xarra, hiŋ
k''auki ||k'oen, ti e:; !ku kō: !k²āī
|ki sa:; ī: Ta:; he ki !hammī:
ti e:; he tsaxau ||k'oen kōāīŋ sa:.
He tikōn e:; he ||k'oen |ki, ti e:
|xarra, ī:; o hiŋ ka, !kwi á: !k²āī
|ki sa:; ha se mai; i ha ||k'oen,
ti e: sa: |kwē:ī u, ī:

Ha-g |ne |nau, !k²e kuitaŋ k''auki
||k'oen, ha:-g |ne ||nau, ha ||k'oen,
ti e:; sa: -||kwaŋ -||k²uwa, ha-g
|ne ||nau, há: k''auki kukú, ha:
|k'e:ja !k²e kuitōn ā:; ta: ha |ku
||nau, ha ||k'oen, ti e:; sa: -||kwaŋ
-||k²uwa, ha: |ku ||nau, haŋ ka,
!k²e kuitōn se sá, ||k'oen, sa:-ka
swen, ha: |ku kukú, ha: |k'e:; 'U
ka: kaŋ ≠ī:; sa: a: k''auki ||khō,
i se hā: ha; ha kaŋ |ku á: a, ta:;
ha |ku -!kouwi.'

Haŋ k''auki kukú, haŋ |k'e:ja
!k²e kuitōn ā:; '||k'oenju, sa:-ka
swen.' Ta:; ha |ku ī: |k'e:ja !k²e
kuitōn ā:; ti e:; sa: kōāīŋ, o haŋ

somewhere else. Only one man
goes up to the thing.

He does not draw near from the
side on which the sun stands, but
from the side on which there is no
sun. He goes to it so that his
head's shadow is only on the side
of the thing on which there is no
sun, for he wants to approach and
sit looking without his shadow
falling on it. He approaches it,
while the others do not come near.

Men do this, when one of them
approaches an eland to see whether
it is fat, the others look in a
different direction, they do not
look at the place where he is
approaching the eland. For they
are afraid that their eye might by
looking make it lean. Therefore
they look away, for they want the
man who goes up to the eland to
see first how it is.

He looks while the others are
not looking, he sees that the eland
is fat, he does not speak and tell
the others about it; but when he
sees that the eland is fat and
wants the others to come and look
at its fat, he speaks and says, "You
thought that this eland did not
seem as if we should eat it; it is
here, but it is lean."

He does not say to the others,
"Look at the eland's fat!" But
he tells the people that the eland
is lean, and does not tell them that

k''auki |*k'e:ja*: |*k²e* ã:, *ti e*:, *sa*:
~|*k²urwa*. *Ta*, *ha* |*ku* *i*: ≠*kaka*
|*k²e* kúitøn ã:, *ti e*:, *sa* *kõ:aiŋ*, *o*
háŋ ka, |*k²e* kúitøn se |*i*: *he* ||*k'o'en*,
ti e:, *sa*: |*kwẽ:i* *u*, *i*..

He |*k²e* kúitøn ||*nau*, *háŋ ka*, *ha*
|*kwẽ:i* *kú*, *ha* |*k'e:ja* |*k²e* kúitøn ã:,
|*k²e* kúitjaŋ |*ke* ||*a*: *sa*:, *o* *háŋ ka*,
he *se* ||*k'o'en*, *ti e*:, |*kẽi* ||*ou* |*nõ a*:,
ha |*k'e:ja*, *há ka sa*: *kõãiŋ*. *Hay*
|*ne* |*khe* |*hiŋ* ||*a*:, *o* *háŋ ka*, |*k²e*
kúitøn se k'o'en, *ti e*:, *sa*: *kwẽ:i* *u*, *i*..

He |*k²e* |*kúitøn kúkú*, *hiŋ* |*k'e*:,
'|*k'o'enju*, *sá*: *a*:, *i* ||*kã*: ≠*kaka* *hi*
ã:, *ti e*: *ha* *kõãiŋ*, ||*k'o'enju*, *ti e*:,
sa: *á*: *a*, *há-ka sweŋ* |*kwẽ:i* *u*, *i*:, *o*
|*k²etøn k''auki* *say* *hã*: *ã*:, *o* *sa*:
á: *a*. *Ta*:, *sweŋ* |*kwẽi* |*ku* *e*:, *he*
say *hã*: *he*.

the eland is fat. He just tells them that the eland is lean, because he wants them to see for themselves what it is like.

And the other men do this, when he has spoken to them in this manner, they go up to the eland, for they want to see if it be truth that he has spoken, that the eland is lean. He walks away for he wants the others to see what the eland is like.

Then the other people say, "Look at the eland which our brother *šaid* was lean, look, this eland's fat is such that people will not eat meat of this eland. For pure fat is what they will eat."

Dictated by *Diä!kwain*, a Bushman from the Katkop hills.

Mama-gu *hiŋ kaŋ kí:se si*, *ti e*:,
whai ká ha se ||*nau*, ~||*khã*: *õã*
|*hi:ŋjã*, *ha* *kóã* |*ki* |*ku:xe* *i*, *o* *hé*
ti e:, ~||*khã*: *ta*: *he*. *Ha* *kóã* |*ne*
||*nau*, *o* *ha* |*ne* ≠*enna* *ti e*:, ~||*khã*:
~||*kway* *ka*, *ha* *say* |*ne* *tu* *ha*, *ha*
kóã |*ne* *dí* |*ku:køn*, *o* *ha* *ka* *i*' *se* |*ne*
|*ke* ||*e* *ha*, *o* *i*: *ka*, *ise-g*|*ne* ~|*kaitøn*
|*kha* *ha*, *o* |*kau*. *Hay ká ha se* ||*nau*,
ha: ||*k'o'en*, *ti e*:, *i* |*kam* |*kau*, *i* *se*
|*ne* ~|*kaitøn* |*kha* *ha*, *hay k''auki* *ka*:
ha se tamse |*kwãnu*, *o* *há ka* ~||*khã*:
se *tu* *ha*.

Hé tikøn e:, *mama-gu* *kaŋ* ≠*kaka*
si ã:, *si se-g* |*ne* ||*nau*, *si tú:i*, *ti e*:,

Our parents used to tell us what a springbok would do when a lion was near, it would take us running to the place where the lion lay. As soon as it knew that the lion was where it could hear, it would act as it if were dying, because it wanted us to go up to it, to kill it by throwing a stone. It meant, as soon as it saw us pick up a stone, to throw at it, to bleat hoarsely, for it wanted the lion to hear it.

Therefore our parents used to tell us that if we heard a springbok

whai k''auki tamse !kwāna, si kō: !gōā i:; ta: si ||kho: kaŋ ≠i:; ||khe:||khe: a:; há ||kau sa:; ha ka sá !khe:; o ha |nĩ:; ti e:; !kwija ||na whai.

Ta:; há ka |ku ||nau, sesé a:; ha sa: ā: haŋ ka |ku ||nau, i ki-sa: |k'e: ha !xwōnni, haŋ k''auki tá ha se !xwōnni. Ta:; ha _||kwaŋ ka: ha se sé i, o í ki-sa: |k'e: ha, ha _kóš sa ||xāũ |ha: hi ā: whai.

He tikən e:; mama-gu kaŋ ≠kaka si ā:; si se ||nau, si ||k'o'en, ti e:; ||kō:īŋ |e:; o si ||k'o'en ti e:; whai !nau si, si _kóš xu: whai, o si: siŋ ||k'o'en, ti e:; whai |kwē:ī k''o i:.

Ta, si ||kho: kaŋ ≠i:; whai k''au e tsʔá a: ka ||nau, ha: dí: í-ta !k''augən, haŋ ká ha se ||nau, i ki-sá: ||k'o'en, ti e:; ha _||kwaŋ k''wāŋ ha ka ha |ku:kən, haŋ ká ha se ||nau, o ha ||k'o'en, ti e:; í klē, i ||xarra ha, o !kʔau a: ha !ge: ā:; haŋ ká ha se ú, ha _kóā ||xā: ha !kuxe, ha _kó:š |ne ||nau, ha: !ahí hóā í.

O ha: ||k'o'en, ti e:; i ||kho, i-g |ne ||nēi||nēi ha tsʔi:; ha _kó:š ||xā:; ha te:ŋ, o há ka i se kukú, i ≠i:; 'ŋ kaŋ k''auki _dóā se xu: tu whai á a; ta:; ha _||kwaŋ _dóā k''wāŋ ha ká ha |ku:kən; ta ha _||kwaŋ |ku a: ||xī: ||a ha o-g ŋ; haŋ |kxu a: te:ŋ ha á; he ŋ _dóā k''auki se xu:wa i:; ta: ha _||kwaŋ _dóā k''waŋ ha ká ha |ku:kən.'

Mama-gukən kaŋ |k'e:ja si ā:; si _kó:š ||nau, o si ||k'o'en, ti e:; whai |kwē:ī k''o, haŋ dí:; si _kó:š se

bleating hoarsely, we ought to look around; we seemed to think that the beast of prey which was coming to the sound would stop if it saw a man with the springbok.

But it would come with a rush, and even if we ordered it to turn back, it would not turn back. For it would persist in coming to us, even if we called to it, it would come to take the springbok away from us.

Therefore our parents used to tell us that if we saw the sun setting while the springbok resisted¹ us, we should leave it when we found it acting like this.

Though we seemed to think that a springbok is not a thing to cause our destruction, yet even when we see that it appears to be nearly dying, it will act like this when it finds that we want to drive it away from the "pan" to which it keeps going, it will get up and run on again until it has passed in front of us.

When it sees that we seem to be behind its back, it will lie down again, for it wants us to think, "I ought not to let that springbok go, for it really seems to be going to die; it is the one which just went past me and has lain down there; so I ought not to leave it, for it looks as if it were dying."

Our parents used to tell us that when we saw a springbok behaving like this, we should let it

xu:wa. Ta: whai a: |kwẽ:ĩ k'o, ha dattən |ki |kəm ||a: si, o ||khe:-||khe:, ha se-g |ne !kuxe !ke ||e ||khe:|khe:. O ha !ke ||a ||khe:-||khe:, hiŋ e:, ha |ne !haugən |ne dı: |ku:kən kwokwǎŋ, ı:, o há |ne ||na ||khe:|khe:, o ||k'e: a:, ha |ne ≠enna, ti e:, ||khe:|khe: -||kwaŋ saŋ |ne |nĩ e, o ı: |ne dı |ki há-ka |kha|kha:, ||khe:|khe:tən |ne !kun ||kau tẽ t o whai.

He tikən e:, mama-gu kaŋ kɪ:se si, si se ||nau whai |ke:, si |xĩ:ja, o ||kõŋ |etən|etən, o si: siŋ |k'oenja, ti e:, ha k''auki k''wǎŋ si se |kha ha, o ||kõŋjǎ !naunko !khe:, si se xú: tú ha, o si ||k'oen, ti e:, ||kõŋ |e: . Ta: whai |ke:, si |xĩ:ja, o |kõŋ |etən|etən, si ||khóǎ kaŋ ≠ı:, ||eiŋ-ka whai kaŋ k''auki e. Ta:, whai a: |ki |kəm ||a si, o si-ka |ku:kən, há é.

He tikən e:, si-ka !k'e kɪ:se si, si siŋ ≠enna, ti e:, ©pwaitən |kwẽ:ĩ k'o, ı:, he-ka didı: e:, he dı: he, o ||k'e: a:, he ≠enna, ti e:, i !gau kɛ: se |hiŋ.

Hiŋ kaŋ |k'e:ja si ǎ:, ti e:, ©pwai e ts'a d: ka |ku ≠enna t-tya |ku:-kən, ||k'e: a:, i se |ku:kən ǎ:. Mama-gukən kaŋ |k'e:ja si ǎ:, si |khɔ: kaŋ ≠ı:, ©pwai k''au e ts'a d: ká: ha siŋ ≠enna, ||k'e: a:, i-ka !kwı |ku:ka, ǎ:; haŋ ká ha se ≠kaka hi ǎ:, ti e:, i-ta !kwı |ku:ka. Ta: ha |kɪ e ts'a a !khou, haŋ !khou ||khwe:tən; he tikən e:, ha ≠enna tikəntikən-ka kú:, ı:, o haŋ tá:, ||ka ti e:, ha |kɪ e ts'a a: !khou.

alone. For the springbok was luring us towards the beast of prey, it would run up to it. When it had reached the beast of prey, then it would really die close to the beast of prey, as soon as it knew that the beast of prey could see us as we were killing it, and would throw us down by the springbok.

Therefore our parents taught us to be careful about any buck which we shot at sunset, if we saw that it was not likely that we could kill it while the sun was still up, we should leave it, when we saw the sun setting. Though we seemed to think that a springbok shot at sunset was not a bad one, yet a springbok which leads us to our death it is.

This is what our people taught us that we might know what the game does, its actions when it knows that our blood will flow.

They used to tell us that the game is a thing which knows of our death, the time at which we shall die. Our parents used to say to us, that we seemed to think that the game is not a thing which knows of our person's death; yet it really tells us when our person is dead. For it is a thing which smells from afar; therefore it knows all things, because it feels that it is a thing which has a keen scent.

He tikən e:, ha !khou, ti e:, dī tenja ti e: |xara. He tikən e:, mama-gu kaŋ ≠kaka si ā:, ti e:, si |nō k''au ||k'o'en, ti e:, whai ka ||nau, !kwija: |ku:kən tenja hē: ti, si-g |nō ka ||k'o'en, ti e:, whai ka !kwā: |kǎā ||e, ti é:, !kwija: |ku:kən tenja hē? Whaitən k''auki ká ha se |kwā: |kǎā ti e:, !kwi |ku:kən tenja hē. Ta:, whai |ku ka, hē se kwā!kwā |kǎā !kou a |xara; hē kó:š |ku !k''wāŋ, hē ≠enna, ti e:, dī tenja hē ti. Ta ts²a a: !khou ha |ku e.

He tikən e:, ha |ku ≠enna, i:, ti e: se dī, haŋ |ku ≠enna hē; hē i k''auki ≠enna hē, haŋ |ku a: ≠enna hē, ti e: kē: se dī ten l.é: ti.

!kwi-|aitji d:, ŋ sin _mai-i, ŋ |haŋ s²o: ha, ti e:, whai |kwēü |kwā:, whaija: dī, i:, o whai tuko _ó:ā ta:, ||ka ti e:, whai ≠enna, ti e:, ha se |ku:ki. Whai a: ŋ _!kaitən !kwa: ha _!kwa, ha ||nau-g ŋ ||khauka ha, ŋ |kha: ha, ha _kō:āŋ |hiŋ; tija k''waŋ ha _!kwa e: ŋ _!kaitən !kwa: hē, ha ||nau, ŋ ā: |ko: sa:, ha hō: ha xu, ha !kwe-se ŋ, ha _!kwāna, ha ||khu, o ha ||k'o'en |ki tī e: |xara, ha dī ku k''wāŋk''wāŋ, ha: hā: ||na. Ha ||k'o'en ti e:, ŋ ā ||kho: suŋ |xara ha, ha _kōāŋ |hiŋ, ha !kuxe, ha ||a te:n. ŋ _||kwaŋ |ne |ke ||a: ha, ŋ ne |khi: ha, ŋ |ne _|kammeŋ |ki !küita o ||neiy.

ŋ |ne ≠kaka ŋ |ha ā:, ti e:, whai |kwē:ī |kwē, há dī, i:. He-g

Therefore it smells what has happened at a distance. That is what our parents used to say to us, did we not see how the springbok acts when someone lies dead there, did we ever see the springbok travel towards the place where the person lies dead? The springbok will not travel towards the place where someone lies dead. But the springbok keep going along a different road, they seem to know what is lying at that place. For a thing which smells it is.

Therefore it knows what is going to happen, it knows that; what we do not know, it knows, what is going to befall at that place.

It was about the woman² whom I first married that the springbok acted like this, when they felt that they knew she would die. A springbok³ which I hit, breaking⁴ its leg⁵, did as follows when I chased it in order to kill it, it got up; it seemed to eat its leg which I had broken, and when I approached, it raised its head and looked at me, then bleated, while it looked away; it seemed to be eating there. It saw that I was trying to drive it back, it arose and ran on, it lay down. Then I went up to it, killed it and carried it home.

I told my wife how the springbok had behaved to me. And she

η |ha |ne kuküü, haη |k'e:ja ke,
ts²a-de |nõ a:, η k''auki siη _dóä
xu: tüi whai ä:?

answered, asking me why I had
not left that springbok alone?

Hε-g η kuküü, η |k'e:ja ha ä:,
η _||kwaη ||nau, ti e:, η ||k'o'en, ti
e:, whai _||kwāη k''waη ha ká ha
|ku:kən, hε tikən _||kwaη e:, η
k''auki kán xu tu ha, i:.

And I told her that I had seen
that the springbok seemed to be
going to die, that was why I
would not leave it.

Hé η |ha kuküü, haη |k'e:ja ke,
η |nõ k''auki _dóä ||k'o'en ti e:, whai
e:, η _dóä !kai:tən |ki he, ti e:, he
_dóä |kwē:ī k''o, i:, ti e:, η _||kwaη
ka, sa ≠kaka ha ä:, ti e:, whai-ja
_||kwa: k''wāη, ha: se |ku:kən, hε-g
η |nõ k''au _dóä ||k'o'en, ti e:, |k''au-
gən _dóä é? "Itən _||kwaη hε:, i
se tu kum, o whai á: a, ha-g |ne
!kwē:ī |kwāη dí o á." Hε-g η ||nau,
η |haη ka: ha|kwē:ī kú ha |k'e:ja
ke, η ≠gòu.

Then my wife said, had I not
noticed that the springbok which
I had recently⁶ shot had behaved
like this, as I had been telling her,
that they had often looked as if
they were going to die, and did I
not see that this must mean a
foreboding of death? "We may
be sure we shall hear news, be-
cause this springbok acted so to
you." When she stopped speak-
ing I was silent.

Hε-g η !hann, i:, o-g η |haη
|ku twai, i:, o haη k''auki taη.
Hε: η ||aη -|ū: -siη i:, hε-g η |nī:
!khwai, i:, o !gauētən ka: ha !kwai;
hε-g η _||kwaη |xwerri !khwai, i:.
!khwaitən !ku k''wāη hε ≠enna, ti
e:, η ||nā: he, hε-g η _||kwaη
|xwerri !khwai i: !khwaitən |ku
||k'o'en ti e:, η _dóä |xwerri |hiη
hε, !khwai-ta ku: gwai, hiη |ku
_dóä ||k'o'en |ki, ti e:, η _dóä
|xwerri |hiη hε. Hiη k''auki |nī:
η, ta:, hε |ku e: k''waη hε ≠enna
η, ti-g η _dóä |xwerri |ki hε.

Then I went hunting when my
wife was well, ailing nothing.
Then I went to sleep and caught
sight of gemsbok when the day
had broken, so I began to steal up
to them. The gemsbok seemed to
know that I had seen them as I
was stealing up to them. They
looked towards the place from
which I was stealing, all the gems-
bok kept looking at the place
where I was. They could not see
me, but they seemed to know that
I was coming.

Hε he _||kwaη k''wāη, he tã:, ti e:,
η |kɔ: sa:, hε he |ku _tai !k²ū:ī, i:,
hiη |ku _tai.

They seemed to feel that I had
come near, for they retreated,
they went away.

Hε-g η |ne kuküü, η ≠i:, η kaη
se _am ||xā:, η dí ||k'o'en, η se

Then I thought to myself, I
will first take another look to see

||k'o'en, ti e:, he se |kwē:ī |kwē|kwē,
 ī: . He-g η _||kwaŋ ||aŋ, ||nūŋ
 ||a:-g η o ||xāū, o kaŋ ≠ī: , ti e:, η
 kaŋ |xwerri he o !khwirri a:, he
 kerre !ke ||a ha. He-g η _||kwaŋ
 tattān ||khóē !khwirri, ī: , he-g η
 ||an |xwerri kerre !ke ||a: ī: , o kaŋ
 ≠ī: , ti e:, η kaŋ |xwerri !ke:η ||e
 !khwai, o kaŋ _||kwaŋ ||k'o'en, ti e: ,
 !khwai _||kwaŋ hā:ā kerre !ke sa:
 !kwirri.

He !khwai |ku k'wāŋ he tā: , ti
 e:, η ||na !khwirri, hīŋ |ku |hīŋ
 tu:ī !khwirri, hīŋ |ku _tai !ke ||kh
 !khwe; he-g η |ku-g |ne ||kóā:kān
 ||k'o'en ||khóē siŋ !khwirri, ī: , o
 kaŋ kaŋ |ne _am ||k'o'en ts'a a: ,
 !khwai |ne |kwē:ī k'o ā: .

He !khwai |ne k'way he |ku
 ≠enna η, he: !khwai |ku !kuxe, ī: ,
 o he k'auki |nī η; ta: he |ku e:
 ||au se !kuxe, o he k'auki |nī η.
 He-g η |ku kukūi, η ≠ī: , η |ku
 se |hā: !khwai ā: , !khwai se |ku
 !kwā: _tai.

He-g η |ku -kóāŋ |hīŋ, ī: ; η |ku
 |kam ||a: Sū:-!kūitān-ta: , ī: , o ti
 e:, ha s'o ko ||k'o'en η, ī: ; ti-g η
 |kwē:ī k'okān |xwerri !khwai, ī: .
 He-g η _||kwaŋ !ke ||a ha, ī: , he
 ha tu:-tu:-g η, ī: , ti e:, η |nō _dóā
 te: k'okān |xwerri !khwai. He-g
 η _||kwaŋ k'e:ja ha ā: , ti e:, ha-g
 |nō k'au _dóā ||k'o'en, ti e: , !khwai
 |kwē:ī k'o, ī: , he-g η |k'e:ja ha ā: ,
 ti e:, si _dóā se kūitān ||neīŋ, si se
 ||a ||k'o'en ||neīŋ.

He si _||kwaŋ !kūitān ||neīŋ, ī: ,
 he-g η |ku xu: we, ī: , o hīŋ |ku
 !naunko sa: , η |ku !kūitān ||neīŋ,

what they are doing. So I went
 back round behind the Spitzkop,
 meaning to steal up to them at the
 (dry) river-bed, as they went along
 there. Then I descended into the
 river-bed, and I stole along it,
 thinking that I would creep along
 to meet the gemsbok, for I saw
 that they were going grazing along
 the river-bed.

Then the gemsbok seemed to
 feel that I was in the river-bed,
 they left it, they went up into the
 wind; and I watched closely sit-
 ting in the river-bed, for I wanted
 to see why the gemsbok were
 going on in this manner.

Then the gemsbok seemed to
 know about me, and ran on,
 although they did not see me;
 yet they ran for no reason, al-
 though they did not see me. Then
 I thought I would leave them, let
 them escape.

So I rose up and went up to
 Snore-white-lying⁷ where he
 sat watching me as I stalked the
 gemsbok. As I approached him,
 he asked me how I had got on
 with hunting them. Then I said,
 had he not seen how the gemsbok
 were behaving, and I told him we
 ought to go home, to see how
 things were at home.

So we started for home, and I
 left the others to come on behind,
 I went home, went to the hut. As

he-g η |kuu ||a: ||neiy, i: η |kuu
||nau, o kaη tū:η |e: ||neiy, η |kuu
|auwi η |ha, o haη ||khó:ë ta:
||neiy, o haη k''auki tamse taη, o
haη k''auki tamse tu:; ta ha |kuu
tu: _||gauë ha |i:, o haη ta: ||ka
ti e:, ha k''auki tu: |nī: ha |i:.

He-g η tu:tú: ha, ti e:, ts²a de
|nō d: dā: ha, he ha |kwē:ī k''okən
thu:. He ha |k'e:ja ke, i:, ti e:,
ha tā: ts²a a: !kauy !khe: ha ||kwa-
||kwan, haη _||kwaη a:, ha |kwē:ī
k''okən thu:, ā:, he tikən e:, ha
k''auki ≠enna ts²a a dā: ha, he
ts²a |ne !kauy !khe: ha ||kwa||kwan
i:. He ha |k'e:ja ke, i:, ti-g η
||khóä kaη ≠i:, ha ||kūy||kūy taη,
ha ká: !kan ~kwakkən !khwā:. Ta:
Trúö |kuu a: !kan!kan !kauy !ho
!khweitən o !khwā: tu.

He Sū:-!küütən-ta: _||kwaη |ne
sa:, i:, haη |ne |k'e:ja ke, ti e:, ha
_||kwaη siη _dóä ≠kaka ke, ti e:,
ké: se dī tiη si ||neiy, he _||kwaη
_dóä e:, t|wen |kwē:ī k''o, i:; he
whai e: η !kaitji, he _||kwaη _dóä
≠enna, ti e:, ké: se dī tiη si ||neiy.
He tikən e:, η _||kwaη |ne ||i: η
||k'o'en, ti e:, η |haη |ne |kwē:ī
k''okən thu:, i:, o há siη ≠kaka ke,
ti e:, si _||kwaη ka, si se !naunko
|nī, ti e:, ké: se dī.

He-g η kukuü, η |k'e:ja Sū:-!küü-
təy-ta: ā:, η xá se té: |ki, η dī η-ka
!kwā:, o xoro k''auki ||na: ka:, ti
e:, η se |ki kwaka o xoro-ka
!khweitən. He Sū:-!küütən-ta: ku-
küü, haη |k'e:ja ke, 'A kaη _||kwaη

I entered the hut, I saw that my wife who was lying in the hut was not at all well, but was breathing very badly, she was breathing as if she were seeking her heart, panting, for she felt as if she could not perceive her heart when she breathed.

And I asked her what had happened to her to make her breathe like this. And she told me that she felt as if something were sticking in her neck hollow and making her breathe like this, but she did not know what it was that had hurt her, sticking in her neck hollow. And she told me that I must not think that her arms were strong enough to hold and suckle the child. For Trúö (their eldest daughter) had held the breast to the child's mouth.

And Snore-white-lying came, (he lived at the same place); he said that he at had told me something would happen at our home, and that was why the creatures were acting like this; those springbok which I had hit must have known that something was happening at our home. Now I myself saw that my wife was breathing in this way, after telling me that we should soon see that something would happen.

And I asked Snore-white-lying what I should do about my baby, as no cattle were at hand, that I might let it drink cow's milk. [His father-in-law had given him a cow and bull, but they had run

|ku se xú:, i se ||k'o'en, ti e:, |ha se |kwě:ĩ |kwě, ha dī, ī:, o ti e:, ha |nō k''au se twaitən. Hē ŋ |ha ||nau, o ||kōĩŋjaŋ ká: ha |e:, haŋ |ku:kən.

Hé Sû-!kúitən-ta: kukuĩ, haŋ |k'e:ja ke ā:, ŋ se ||a |k'e:ja ŋ ||ka-xai-ka !khwā:, ā:, ha se sé, ha se sá: |ki kwáka ke !khwā:. Ta: ŋ _||kwaŋ ŋ ||ēĩŋ ||k'o'en, ti e:, !khwā: a: k''auki kt:ja, há |ku é: haŋ k''auki hĩ:; ti e:, ha sīŋ sin hĩ:, ī:, hīŋ e:, si sīŋ se |ki hā: ha, o eŋ, ī:, haŋ k''auki hĩ:. "Hé tikən e:, ||kaxai-ta !khwā: se sé, há se |ki kwáka ha ā:, !khwā:. Ta: !khwā: |ku se |ku:-kən o ||kaŋ."

Hē si _||kwaŋ |ne ||nau, o ŋ ||kaxai-ka !khwāŋ ká ha se, haŋ |ne |ki kwakən !khwā: hē si-g |ne !nau ||kho !khwā: xoā, ī:.

Hē si-g |ne |ũ:ŋ, ī:; he whai |ne ||nau, há: ||ga:, á: si |ũ:ŋ s²o ā:, whaitən |ne |ku sa:, whaitən |ne _saŋ |ũ:ŋ, ti e:, si sīŋ !nau ||khóā ŋ |ha, ī:. Hē Sû-!kúitən-ta: |ne kukuĩ, haŋ |k'e:ja ke ā:, 'ne ||k'o'enja, ts²a dīŋ a:, whai |ne sa:, ti e:, whai k''auki _dóá |kwei-tən se sé he? Ta: ||ke: á: a, ha |ku-g |ne á:, whai |ne sá: ti é: a, ā:.

Hē-g ŋ |ne kukuĩ, ŋ !k'e:, ŋ k''auki ≠enna; ta:, i-ĩ _||kwaŋ |ku se ||k'o'en, ts²a a: whai |ne |kwě:ĩ k''a ā:, he whai |ne |kwě:ĩ |kwāŋ dī:, ī:.

away]. And Snore-white-lying said, "Wait and see whether your wife will not get better." But when the sun was setting, she died.

And Snore-white-lying said to me, that I must tell my sister's daughter to come in order to suckle the child for me. For I could see for myself that it was still a baby, it could not eat; if it had been able to eat, then we could have fed it with meat, but it could not eat. "Therefore your sister's child must come to suckle the little one for you. Otherwise it will die of hunger."

And when we knew that my sister's child was willing to come to nurse the baby, then we buried the mother. [The child was about two months old. They waited for the niece to come before they buried the mother the day after her death].

Then we went to sleep; and on that night as we lay sleeping the springbok troop came to lie at the place where we had buried my wife. Then Snore-white-lying said to me: "Look, why have the springbok come to a place to which they never used to come? But on this occasion they have come to this place."

And I said that I did not know; but now we should see why the springbok had behaved as they had been doing.

He Sũ:-!kũtən-ta: kukuĩ, haŋ
|k'e:; ɣ _||kwaŋ _dóä siŋ ||k'oen,
ti e:; wai e:; ɣ siŋ _!k'aitən |ki
he, ti e:; he siŋ |kwẽ:ĩ k'o, i:; He
tikən e:; si ||kwaŋ k'aŋki se ≠xóä,
i:; ta:; si |ku se ≠gou.

And Snore-white-lying said,
now I could see why the spring-
bok which I had shot had been
behaving so strangely. However
we should not go on talking about
it, but should be silent.

Dictated by |haŋ≠kass^o, a Bushman from the Strontbergen.

|xam-ka !k²e _||kwaŋ ka k'aŋki
|ne |khi: wai, au hi |ke: ko:wa
_!kuka, au hi di !kuko: !k'aŋkən.
(I |ku-g |ne k'waŋ ≠kuerra.) Hi
k'aŋki |khi:; hi |ku _taŋ-i wai.
Waija k'aŋki ||xamki _!kukən, wai
_tsi-i twi:; au i !k'auka !kuko;
waija |ku k'waŋ, wai a: _!kauwa;
wai-ja |k'aŋki k'waŋ ha |ki twi:.

Bushmen are not wont to kill
springbok, if their friend has died,
while they are mourning (?) the
other. (We seem to be bad shots).
They do not kill, they miss the
springbok. It also does not die, it
bites the wound, when we are
mourning someone; it seems to be
like a live springbok; it does not
seem to be wounded.

He tikən e:; !k²e-ta |kagən ka
ko-ita hi !nwa:; au -sā, au hi ||ka
||khóä -sā; he hi |ne ā !ho au i
||kã-|na:; Hi |ne _kuom i !gau, hi
|ne ||kuarre||kuarre -|e hi, au wai
||kẽĩ. He hi |ne ||nau wai ||kẽĩ
|ne _!kauŋ-a au i !gau, hi |ne ||ka
||kho -sā, hi |ne ||ka _||kau ||kho
i !gãu au -sā, au hi ta, wai-ja siŋ
te:ɣte:ɣja hi:.

Therefore the women smoke
arrows for us with buchu, putting
the buchu to burn; then they
make cuts on our shoulder (with a
sharp arrowhead). They suck our
blood, they spit it out into a
springbok horn. When the horn is
full of our blood, they put buchu
to burn, they put our blood to
burn on top of the buchu, for they
want the springbok to lie down (to
die) for us.

Hi |ne |xũŋ i |na:-ka tikəntikən
e: a, i xu !koukən!koukən-ka tikən-
tikən e: a; kukuĩ hi |xũŋ |xũŋ tẽ au
i |na-ka tikəntikən e: a; au hi ta
wai siŋ ||xam !nõẽ-i i; ta: wai-ja
k'aŋki i-ja; ta: waija |ku ||xĩ:|xĩ
wai au i; i |ku _!kauŋ-i wai, au
wai k'aŋki !hiŋ.

They shave these parts of our
head, our temples lines here,
(showing direct lines from the
temples backwards); thus they
shave paths on our heads, for they
want the springbok to run straight
to us, as they have not been doing,
for they have been passing to the
side; we have been shooting at
them when they were not near.

He *tikən e:*, *hi ta* |*xũŋ akkən i* |*na:*, *au hĩ* |*tabba akkən i*, *au hĩ* |*ta*, *wai se* |*nõẽ ã i*.

Therefore they shave our heads nicely for they want the springbok to run straight up to us.

Wai a |*!kuĩta*, |*k²etən k''auki* |*khi:* *ha ta* |*k²e* |*kuu* |*|k'oən áu ha*; *au* |*k²etən tattĩ e:*, *wai* |*ké ta* |*kuu* |*|kóákən* |*|gwi*; *wai k''auki* |*ne se* |*sé au ti é:*, *wai ã* |*!kuĩta*, *ha* |*kukən téŋja hĩ*, *waita* |*-ku* |*kuu* |*|kóákən* |*ta-ĩ*. He *tikən e:* |*k²e ta* |*kuu* |*|k'oən au wai a* |*!kuĩta*, *há ki* |*hiŋja au hĩ*.

People do not kill a white springbok, but merely look at it; for they know that the springbok would disappear altogether; they will not come to a place at which a white springbok has lain dead, but all the springbok go quite away. Therefore people merely look at a white springbok, even if it is near them.

¹ *i.e.* would not be driven in the direction we wished.

² *Díálkwain's* first wife who lived with him at Spreet near the Zak River.

³ It was a springbok ewe.

⁴ He hit it with a ball from a gun.

⁵ Compare : *!kwa:* "broke," *-kwa!* "leg," *!kwa* "bone."

!ka!kauru a: |*!kwai*, *ha kaŋ* |*kuu* |*a:*, *ŋ* |*dóã* |*kwẽ:ĩ* |*k''okən* |*|k'oən* |*whai*, *ã:*, *ha* |*whai k''auki ka*, *whaija* |*ku:ka ke*, *ã:*. *Ta:* |*whai* |*|kwaŋ* |*sĩŋ* |*!nau*, |*maĩ-maĩda*, |*whaitən* |*|kwaŋ* |*sĩŋ* |*ku:ka ke*, *o-g* |*ŋ* |*!kaitən* |*ki* |*whai o* |*maĩ-maĩda*. |*!ke:* *a:* |*a* |*haŋ* |*ku-g* |*ne a:*, *ŋ* |*k''auki* |*ne* |*≠enna ts'a a:* |*di:*, *he* |*whai* |*ne* |*kwẽ:ĩ* |*k''o ã:*.

⁶ For one month I had noticed this, that the springbok did not fall down dead for me. For the springbok had previously always fallen down dead when I shot them with ball. During this period I did not know what was the matter with the springbok that they acted like this.

⁷ This friend of *Díálkwain's* was a somewhat older Bushman. The name Snore-white-lying was given him by his mother, a medicine woman who used to cure people by "snoring" them, lying by them without her kaross. Medicine men usually "snored" people lying covered by their karosses, but this woman, whose skin was very light, did not. People blamed her for this, so she gave the name to her son.

THE ART OF DIVINATION AS PRACTISED BY THE BAMASEMOLA

Part II*

By W. M. EISELEN

Praise songs as recited

By T. MALEDIMO

A. *Diréto tša Ditaolo tše di bôtexaxo.*

Seréto sa Ditaola.

*Ke mašweu a mme le rare, a ki amulexo xo mme mabeleng.
Dihlabana tša mmampepu, ke maraxa dibetlela.
Ke marapo a kxomo e na hlaba, e hlabana tša mmampepu.
Batho bao ke bahudi, bahudi ke baxwête ;
Ke mahlaba-tlou ka lehlókwa, ba e hlabile ngwaxóla selemo.
Xomme boduma bo a ya le pula.
Ke batlabo ba nóxa, ba a lwa,
Ba baka motlabo wa nóxa, Thabemonóxe, Phuphumonóxe,
Ya xo loma dikxomo ngwaxóla selemo.
Xomme boduma bo a ya le khwiti, bahudi ba xwête.*

More o moxolo.

*More o moxolo wa mafala!
Ke fadile, la mópo ke boa nalo.*

Mmakxadi.

*Ke mmakxadi, ke wa meréko ;
Ya putla ya bonoko.
Bonoko di fetile bošexo, tša re thata.
Le aketša baloi, batho ba koša ya bošexo.*

Selumi.

*Lehlókwa la tsela nthsebêle !
Motho xa a hlóke mosebedi,
Xomme ke selumi se sexolo se phatakxollang nkwe ya thšéthšéngwa.*

*See Part I in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. IV. No. 1, March 1932.

Thšwene.

*Ke morwa wa mmamaxubye a diséxo,
 Ke morwa wa kxomo ya xo sexwa ke leméko monwana ;
 A rupa, e baxo monwana o se ripe ke mang?
 Mme nna ki be ki fuiše, ki tladiše,
 Ke xore ka thelléla, ka wa, disela tša ya le mobu.
 Se se yaxo fase xa se boe.
 Thšwene mola ki be tau, maróka a ka be a sa tsenwe.*

Phsiri.

*Marakabéle a dibata, Mmangou !
 Phsiri a xo diša difoša, hlotlóló sa malao mabe.
 Se xatile ngwana bošexo, ra aketša baloi.*

Tau.

*Ke tau e tšwa Makxopye a Rramoxajana a tšatši,
 A se apara malokwane, mme o rata xo huma a nnosi.*

Tladi.

*Ke tladi ya mmóto a Bépe, se óra ntlo mašarara ;
 Marumo a letšatši ke a mahubedu.*

Phuti.

*Phuti phula maloba, phuti mosexare xa e dye,
 E Nthsammangwakwane a ngopeng a Sebitlole.
 Sebitlola a masoxana ke phuti,
 Ke phóófolo ya mehlala ya dilépe,
 Mme mosexare e ya malaong.*

Thóló ya pholo.

*Thóló a pholo mašodi se bolawe,
 Mompolayi a ithwala mexóno.*

Phudufudu.

*Phatafati a maxola, ke ngwana-monadibe-a-thšeletše
 Mohlankana xa mafatéla, e lexo malope o mohulwana.*

Thakadu.

*Thakadu a ntopa, a ntopa motse,
Motse ka lopa ke badimo,
Batho ba kopi-a-morare-a-se-namela,
Se nyabuhla, se nya phokeng.
Hlaba a Makunyana a moxodu, nku e nthlwa ya Bakwéna,
Thakadu se leme mo tseleng, u se tlo ruta basadi xo lema.
U a ruta le bosekwékwétlane sa Barula-thsipi.
Kxapaxadi a mahlakola.*

B. Dirêto tša Mawa.

I. *Lengwana.* *Selumi* (F) *se thabile.*
 Ba bang ba nyamile.

*Lengwana la moxofe ki a tsekélla,
Ki axa tsébe tša tlala,
Tsébe tša tlala xa ki kwe,
Xomme ki a xofélla.
Ki axa mahlo a tlala
Mahlo a tlala xa ki bone.*

II. Mohlakolana wa Matsepe.

(a) *Mohlakolana wa matsepe
Modiši wa dikxomo tša badimo o re :
Xe u diša dikxomo tša badimo,
U diše, u fetiša marothobolong,
Beng ba fete ba xopola,
Boseritšane bya lefsiélo.*

(b) *Mohlakolana wa matepe
O hlakotšexo ngwana kxosi ditšwalo,
Xe o disa dikxomo tsa badimo,
O diše, o fetiša marothobolong.
Beng ba fetr ba xopola
Boseritšana bya lefsiélo.*

III. Lengwana la mafakudu.

Lengwana la mafakudu a lehlabula.
U re, xe u e fa ngwana lehlabula,
U mo fe, u mmotšiše, u re :
A u xoše, a u na tlala?
A ka re, xo tšwêla kantie, a lahla
A re : Mabêle a mme ki lle, ma raxana teng.
Ke lengwana la mme moxatšatate,
O lwa hufa le sa bolexo.
O bolaile tatane malôba ka sehlare ;
Xomme le nna ki tla mmolaya ka sehlare ;
Xomme ki tla mmolaya ka thóxxwane ya moxobakoma.
Ki be ki re : ke mane, o tla mmanama ;
Xomme ki baba ke mêno,
O nkapeêla dikxôbe.
Xomme ki baba ke mahlo,
O nkxoletša mollo wa dišu.

IV. *Mohlakola.* *Bohle ba nyamile.*
 Selumi (F) se šupile
 thokong ya ngaka.

Mohlakola o moxolo
Wa Mamahlaxare
Wa Mohudi a dira.

V. *Mpherefere.** *Bohle ba séxile.*

- (a) *Ke mpherefere, ke dithuri,*
 Xase dithuri, ke baloi,
 Ke maribišana, a a dya maxótlo.
- (b) *Ke mpherefere, ke na di tle,*
 Di be di na le le moraro.

VI. *Moraro o moxolo.* *More o moxolo o séxile,*
 Selumi (M) se nyamile.
 Basadi ba thabile.

- (a) *Ke moraro o moxolo*
 Wa sedikudiku.
 Sedikudiku ke lexora,
 Thétéléxo ke motse.

*The name given to this and a few other throws corresponds to the Venda name of the same throw. The *dirêto*, however, are different. C.p. E. Giesecke, p. 269 ff.

- (b) *Mohlakola o moxolo wa ntikutiku*
Wa thêtelêxo ya motse wa mahlaku.
Le ôra ka nnosi, metse le aketša.
Ba lata xo moséhla o se na sabo.

VII. *Moraro wa Kubutona.* *More o moxolo o apeile,*
Selumi (M) se nyamile,
Basadi ba séxile.

- (a) *Moraro wa kubutona,*
Wa kubu ko tšewa ke metsi,
Ko hlaba dipôtô,
Xomme manko ko rulana.
- (b) *Mmakubutona, kubu,*
K'ile ki sa le monyane,
Ka lomelélwa xo bapala.

VIII. *Moraro wa Tswitswitswi.* *More o moxolo o rémile,*
Selumi (M) se nyamile.
Basadi ba thabile.

Moraro wa Tswitswitswi ya nko ya sebata ;
Ke xo re, xo tsoxa xo re tswitswitswi,
Xo bile xo na mokamana a maru
Bata di 'eme ka maxólo,
Xa xo pela e ya mafulo.

IX. *Morarwana wa diphépe.* *Selumi (M) se thabile,*
More o moxolo o nyamile,
Basadi ba nyamile.

- (a) *Ke morarwana wa diphépe,*
Wa phépe e pele,
Wa phépe e moraxo,
Selo sa morarwana xase kxole,
Se se kxaufsi mabulêlong a mphsiko
ya lemati le modyako.
- (b) *Ke morarwana wa diphépe,*
Phépêla pele le moraxo.
Selo sa morarwana xa se kxole,
Se mabulelong a modyako.

*Monyaka nku ya mokoo,
U nyake u xadima,
U sek'wa tšwela kantle,
Mafuri u se wa nyaka.*

X. *Morarwana wa sešoxatha.*

*Selumi (M) se apeile,
More o moxolo o nyamile,
Basadi ba sêxile.*

*Morarwana wa sešoxatha se šoxa mmele,
Mpa ya modia ko retheta.
Mpa xo retha e naxo le motho
Xa u lle didyo, xa e rethe.
Morwa wa seatlakhupe sa moxale,
Motho xa a xu fa a khuparetše.
Le wena u tšee u khuparetše.
U a bôna sa babedi ke sa babedi.*

XI. *Morarwana wa Sanyane.*

*Selumi (M) se rémile.
More o moxolo o nyamile.
Basadi ba sêxile.*

*Morarwana wa Sanyane sa bokxoši.
Sanyane o rwele boseka, boxoši bo a mo swanêla,
Ngwana marua-dimebala, Sanyane!
Xe ki rua dikxomo batho ba nnôtlêla,
Xe ki rua mabêle, le xona ba nnôtlêla,
E lexo ki tla rua, le ile kae, Sanyane?*

XII. *Thoxadima.*

*Mmakxadi o sêxile, o tšwile xo ngaka.
Ba bang ba nyamile.*

(a) *Thoxadima a marutla, a marutla a mere!
Ki a rutla, ki a tloxa, ki ya xa xešu, ke kxole.
Se se ilexo xo marutla se ile, xa se boe;
Se ile xa molete a xo hlaêla thupa.*

(b) *Thoxadima a marutla a kubu.
Xe ki rutla ki a tloxa;
Bana baka xa le ba bone felo,
Se se ilexo se ile; se ile moleteng, mohlaêla thupa.*

XIII. *Lehlake.*

*Mmakxadi o sêxile, o šupa thokong ya ngaka.
Ba bang ba nyamile.*

Lehlake, lehlake la ngópe, ke sekitiki se boima.
Thšúpya a mahlakela a boselumi.
Di re : Mohlaki xa a hlake lefela, o hlaka selo a se bóna.
Di re : Swara thšúpya, le e bolayeng!
Di re : Kxomo thšúpya se bolawe.
Ki moupo, ki upikwe, ki upikwe badimo,
Ke bomme le borare.
U a bóna phefo, xe e foka, e a nanya.
O axa phohungwane a lehumo, ke mo lehumo le épya nthse.

XIV. *Maseselle.* *Selumi (M) se sêxile.*
 Ba bang ba nyamile.

(a) *Maseselle a modimo a tau,*
 Ke phuti a phallatša,
 Ke phaxa ya Bomakókola a modimo.
 Ke molato wa Babina-Tau.

(b) *Maseselle a modimo a tau,*
 A nthswana ki a potla.
 A phaxa ya xo dya mahwe tse ding
 O a sesella moopa ;
 Mo-na-le-ngwana xa a seselle.

XV. *Sebapungwane.* *Selumi (M) se apeile.*
 Ba bang ba nyamile.

Sebapungwane sa modimo, u padile ka modimo.
Ngwana modimo tsoxa, u tsoxe kxale
Ka melato ya botidimane ya Kxwête.
E šita le difako di nkwêla xale maloba ;
Ngwanamodimo ka hunyéla, ka hunyeléla nkxapeng,
Sefako sa tia nkxapana.

XVI. *Tladi ya mmoto.* *Selumi (M) se rêmile.*
 Ba bang ba nyamile.

Tladi ya mmôto a Bepe, lexwête-mollo la xa Rrakodi!
A thšathša lexare xo bola le leso,
Xomme masêhla, yena a tsea le jóko.
Ke kxwadi e nthšitšexo kxwadi bodibeng,
Xomme boxopane ba hwa dihwaxwa.

- XVII. *Lexwame la hlóxo e thšweu.* *More o moxolo o thabile.*
Ba bang ba nyamile.

Lexwame la hlóxo e thšweu, hlóxo e thšweu e rwala diala.
Lekola le rwakwa la hlólo, la mmutla le ne mebalabala,
Le ile bošweu, la re boso.
Ke yona moriri o mošweu lehumo,
Bahu ba hwile ba duma bosiritšane a lefsiélo.

- XVIII. *Lexwame le le merwalo.* *More o moxolo o apeile.*
Ba bang ba nyamile.

Lexwame le le merwalo,
Le merwalo ya botlapo,
E laditse tlapo naxeng,
Xomme tlapyane a tla a xóróxa
Ka merwalo e moxolo ya botlapo.

- XIX. *Lexwame la šakotlou.* *More o moxolo o rémile*
Ba bang ba nyamile.

Lexwame la šakotlou, ki a faxahla,
Xa xo sa tle dira, xo tla tla tšie.

- XX. *Morupi wa sephathakxa.* *Selumi (M) le Mmakxadi ba*
thabile.
Ba bang ba nyamile.

Ke morupi wa sephathakxa.
Phathakxa, phathakxolla, nkwana a thšéthšé.
Nkwé se fihle mebala, u bonwe.

- XXI. *Morupi wa kubela.* *Selumi (M) se apeile.*
Mmakxadi o thabile.
Ba bang ba nyamile.

Ke morupi wa kubéla,
Kubéla o nthse matsépe ;
Masetléla a tle le madi morupi.
Le xe nka re thsere, Thamaxane,
Lerumo teng ki hlabikwe.

- XXII. *Morupi wa nkwe.* *Selumi (M) se rémile.*
Mmakxadi o thabile.
Ba bang ba nyamile.

Morupi wa nkwé, xóxwa!
Xóxwa a Batlokiwa, u kwe bohloko,
U etše xe u hlahlá bangwe malóba.

XXIII. *Sehlako I.* *More o moxolo le Selumi (F) ba sêxile.*
 Ba bang ba nyamile.

Sehlako ke motho, sehlako mmele a motho,
Sehlako Mmirwa ke tlou.
Xa xo a na xo hlabya kótse o hlabilwe,
Xomme moutlwa wa na wa hlaba BaRolong ;
BaBirwa ba kwa bose, ba re : Axe! Sehlako o hlabilwe.
Sêxêla moxolo kwekwetla, xomme a kxopya, a wa nayo.

XXIV. *Sehlako II.* *More o moxolo o apeile.*
 Selumi (F) se thabile.
 Selumi (M) le Mmakxadi ba nyamile.

Sehlako sa mosonyama, mosonyama o lesoto,
Soto la xo lewa, leng xo tloxa.

XXV. *Sehlako III.* *More o moxolo o rêmile.*
 Selumi (F) se sêxile.
 Ba bang ba nyamile.

Sehlako sa mosonyama, mosonyama o diróba.
Diróba mafuri di butšwe, le dimpya di tsêna ka tsóna.

XXVI. *Moxolore.* *Ba baxolo ba sêxile.*
 Ba banyane ba nyamile.

Ke moxolore wa mmangwako, mmangwako wa Pelotheri.
Pelo boêla madulong ; se nyaka ke pelo, ke se bone.
Le xe nka xola, ka kukumoxa, xa se nna moxolo wa xo dya tša batho.
Nke dye tsa batho, ki se ngaka ; ngaka e xola ka tša batho.
Motho o xola ko sa xaxwe, mmangwako wa Pelotheri.

XXVII. *Makxolêla.* *Xo nyamile Selumi (F).*
 Ba bang ba sêxile.

Ke makxolêla wa morula wa kxong dithata,
Di kxóna diróba le mabye le phatana ya basimanyane.
Di re : Se nkxobêle motho wa merêko,

*Meréko putla tša bonoko,
 Tša bomme, tša bomakxane a lethôle
 Putla xa tša putla, di fetile bošexo,
 Tša lebala meteka,
 Xomme ra aketša ditlou ka medyo mexolo ya bonoko.
 Di re : Se rekoloxe motho wa meréko,
 Batho kamoka re tšwa merékong.*

XXXIII. Bokxatha. *Banna ba nyamile.
 Basadi ba séxile, ba šupile thokong ya ngaka.*

*Bokxatha seenyane, bokxatha ke boleme bya basadi.
 Ke boroko botle, ke bônana botle, ke bonongona bo pelong.
 Kobyana e mo mosamêlong, ke byona bofêlo bya ditaba.*

XXXIV. Tibula. *Ba baxolo ba nyamile.
 Ba banyane ba séxile.*

(a) *Tibula a hlaku a pitse ya moxwadi,
 Ba dimoxile Bangwaketse,
 Batho ba Mukubela a Moraka.
 Ke bana ba sehloxo sa ngaka.*

(b) *Hlapadima ke hlapa a Bašexa le Bakxaxa,
 Tšiboxo le wêla Bašexa le Bakxaxa.
 Le wetše bana ba sehloxo sa ngaka,
 Le re : Inamêlang le a nweng,
 Xa ne kubu, xa ne kwêna.
 Xa ne selumi se metsing, selumi metsing se tšwile ;
 Xomme byale re wêla ka madiba maso,
 Ke madiba a kubu a moxale.*

XXXV. Lešingwane. *Selumi (M) se apeile.
 Selumi (F) se séxile.
 Ba baxolo ba nyamile.*

*Lešingwane la bodya, botlôla, bomakhura,
 Bokxanthêla diatla.*

XXXVI. Lehlwana. *Selumi (M) se rêmile.
 Selumi (F) se séxile
 Ba baxolo ba nyamile.*

*Lehlwana le fatafata la moxwe monana,
 Mothšéthšéti, thšéthšétéla boxwe, u boe !
 Boxwe e se bobapalélo, e se bodišo bya dipudi.
 Ba xabo ba re : O ile boxwe,
 Ba boxwe ba re : O ile xa xabo.
 Šapo la moxwe le boléla šakoleng.*

XXXVII. *Maxamaru.* *Selumi (M) se apeile.*
Ba bang ba thabile.

- (a) *Maxamaru a maxapatswetši,
 A xo xapa kxomo na šole,
 Taba tša pudi di bolwa xabedi :
 Ba re, pudi xe e ótile,
 Ba xana, ba re, e nonne.*
- (b) *Maxamaru a maxapatswetši !
 Pudi xe e ótile, pudi e nonne.
 Taba tša pudi di bolélwa ka xobedi.*

XXXVIII. *Nthswe la naka.* *Selumi (M) se rêmile.*
Ba bang ba séxile.

*Nthswe la naka la badiši ba dikxomo.
 Nthswe la bomodibedi a ngópe.
 Le xe u ka diša ngópe, u a xóroša,
 Kxatswetši ke ya mong wa yóna.*

XXXIX. *Malao a mphakana.* *Banna ba apeile.*
Basadi ba a sepela.

*Malao a mphakana a bolopi !
 Di re : Se mpéle xo dya batho dikonyama.
 Ke malao a xo sepela ka šape.*

XL. *Mabye a lešata.* *Xo nyamile Mmakxadi.*
Ba bang ba séxile.

- (a) *Ke mabye a lešata, ke lešaxašaxa la molapo ;
 Lešata ke la mohudi wa tšie.
 Sa lešata ke sa lešata, sa lerole ke sa lerole.
 Ke mabye a lexoaxoa, lexoa xo xoa notwane ;
 Xa la na la xoa kudu, xo hwa kxoši,
 Kxoši e hwa ka mabye a lerole.*

- (b) *Mabye a lešata, a lešaxašaxa molapong!*
Ngwana mosadi wa lebolabola, le mo axéle molapong,
Šata la xaxwe le ye le molapo.
U a kwa se re : Kxóó! molapong,
Xa se dye kxomo, se dya motho
Xa Mamakxadimole a Botlókwa.

XLI. *Mabye a sešwaphe. Xo nyamile Mmakxadi.*
Selumi (M) se apeile.
Ba bang ba séxile.

Ke mabye a sešwaphe, ke mabye a šwaphe sa Bakwéna ;
Šwaphe se xae, šwaphe se seng se naxeng,
Xomme se se xae se botša se se naxeng,
Se re : Thaka nthša leleme re latswane,
U a bôna baloi re bangwe !
Ke lenthšwe la mahloko a mabe,
A bosebêlu sa bomodihedi.
Hlokofala, u re, xe u hlokofetše, swara seledu,
U a bôna, seledu se mahlokomabe.

A SPECIMEN OF THE FOLKLORE OF GAZALAND.

By E. DORA EARTHY.

The Plague of Frogs.

*Ki-Lenge.**

Kutobwaka nzaya.
Vakikuka vafana,
vakit fuwa govani,
vakitumbuwa makhutla.
Vakiviya, vakiwomba
ka vatatane vawe, vaki,
“*Hiwonile makhutla govani.*”
Sevakikuka vatatane vawe,
vakiya kahosi, vaki,
“*Vafana vatumbute makhutla*
govani.”
Vakiwiya vakimemeza
tiko dose, vaki,
“*Hit fuweni Matsume,*
hikidaya nyama.”
Vakit fuwa, vakiyoweya
makhutla, vakiwiya nawo.
Vakitabwaka, vakitseka mamwane,
vakikanda.
Mamwane, vakitlomeya
katisimelo, vaki,
“*Hiwura, ngadi.*”
Vakiphameya, vakigya.
Kukit fa nimo
vakitseka misuka
vakit fuwa wangeni.
Kukihuma khutla
daseni magwito kanyumba.
Dikihuma dimwane hinimagwito

English.

There comes a famine.
Boys start off,
they go to the lake,
they hit frogs.
They return, they tell
their fathers, saying,
“We saw frogs at the lake.”
So their fathers set out,
they go to the chief, saying,
“The boys have hit down frogs
at the lake.”
They return, they invite
the whole country, saying,
“Let us go to [Lake] Matsume
to kill meat.”
They go, they catch
frogs, they return with them.
They arrive, they take some,
they pound [them].
Others, they impale
on stakes, saying
“Here they are.”
They serve, they eat.
At dawn in the morning
they take hoes
they go to the fields.
There comes out a frog
from the eaves of the hut.
Another comes out from the ends

* This language is almost extinct.

*kamuti. Kukitseka didaseni
nidaseni, dikiembeleya, diki,*

"Humani, hikitsidiya."

Sekemakihuma.

Sedikilaseka

dimwane, maki,

"Unganayi seya,

wiya!" Diki,

"Eh! Charmilei! †

Vakihidaya, Charmilei!

Vaki hinyama.

Eh! Charmilei!

Kasi hivandu,

Charmilei!"

of the kraal. Hither and
thither there pops out one, [singing],

"Come out, let us crawl out."

So they came out.

Then one gets lost,

they say,

"Don't go over there,

Return!" It [sings],

"Eh! Charmilei!

They kill us, Charmilei!

They say we are mea*!

Eh! Charmilei,

while we are people,

Charmilei!"

The story, here given in a very short form, is told with a wealth of detail expressing the large number of frogs, and the way in which they overran everything. As they call themselves "People," the story may be totemistic in character.

E. DORA EARTHY.

† Charmilei. This is a name unknown to me. A Lenge woman suggested that it might be a corruption of "tsamile" "remained," but she was not sure about it, and the accent in Chármilei is the same as in the name Chármion.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Ama-Xosa—Life and Customs. By John Henderson Soga. Lovedale Press, Lovedale, C.P., S.A. 21s.

In 1930 there appeared the Rev. J. H. Soga's book, *The South-Eastern Bantu*, dealing with the history of the tribes of the Transkei, and of their interrelations. This year there has appeared a more detailed study of one section of these peoples, the Ama-Xosa.

In spite of the large number of books dealing with the Native tribes living in the Transkeian Territories of South Africa, it has, in the past, been extremely difficult to judge which customs were universal in the area, which specific for certain tribes, for the information is generally given of the "kaffirs" in general. Any study, therefore, of one particular people in this area is especially to be welcomed, for when we are dealing, as in the Transkei, with a culture basically the same among a number of different tribes, differences in custom and belief, where they are accurately known from tribe to tribe, give valuable data to the theorist who is seeking to understand the function of a custom, by giving him the range of variation on the one hand and also the concomitant variations in other aspects of the culture. Quite apart from these theoretical considerations, however, such special studies of individual societies are needed, for they alone, when adequate, enable the student to grasp the forces which are at work in maintaining the society as a living whole. Mr. Soga's book does not give us an adequate picture of the nature of Ama-Xosa society, but it does give us, on some points, very valuable information.

The author himself divides the book into two parts, the one dealing with an "historical sketch of the tribe," as he puts it, the second with the customs and life of the Ama-Xosa.

The first portion is by far the more valuable of the two, for it contains much more than an historical sketch of the formation of the Xosa communities. It gives us an account of the structure and organisation of one of these communities—not complete, but better than anything we have had before. The Ama-Xosa, Mr. Soga tells us, are organised into patronymic clans which may be divided into two groups according to their mode of origin. One set claims close interrelationship between clan and clan. All claim descent from one remote ancestor, Xosa. According as the heads of the clans are related to this remote chief, through the lines of descent of an important "house" or family, or a minor house or family, they rank in order of precedence. Some clans were formed during a period of upheaval and cannot now trace the manner of their

linkage. These clans are recognised as Ama-Xosa, but they are excluded from the inner circle of "royal" clans and are thrust out among the second group of clans, the "commoners." The majority of commoners among the Ama-Xosa is constituted by the people belonging to clans which originally had affiliations with quite other peoples, many of them being of Basuto origin, some Pondo, some Tembu, some Hottentot. All these people to-day are counted among the Ama-Xosa, but since they can trace no link in the male line with the line of chiefs descended from Xosa, they form a separate group of clans with a separate position in the political organisations or communities which have been developed by the Ama-Xosa. For, these Ama-Xosa clans are not welded into one political organisation. There are three large political groups, independent of one another even to-day, and several smaller ones. The three larger ones are the Ama-Gcaleka, the Ama-Ngqika, and the Ama-Ndlambe, the chiefs of which are all members of one clan, the Ama-Tshawe. Quarrels among the more immediate descendants of the chiefs led to the formation of these separate political organisations, and to the division of the people of the other clans between them. Some clans belong more specifically to one political group than another, but many of the clans have representatives in each.

Within the Gcaleka group, the division of the clans into the royal, or iNtshinga, clans and the commoner, or iQauka, clans, as they are called, is still adhered to, and plays an important part in the control of the society, while formerly it was the basis on which the army was organised.

Though the heads of all clans have a right to take part in the councils of the chief, and to advise him on questions of public policy, the iNtshinga section had always tended to take an independent line and had often advised the chief on their own, without the full consent of the whole people. In 1927, in a great tribal council, the pride of place of the iNtshinga was definitely repudiated, and the iQauka section of the tribe given the dominant authority in the control of public policy.

In the army, the iNtshinga and iQauka clans formed two divisions, each under its own commander, with the paramount chief as commander-in-chief. Within these divisions the clans collected together. This is a totally different organisation from that of the Zulu and also from that of the Central Bantu Tribes of the Union, where the army is organised on an age basis. The whole account of the battle formation, illustrated as it is with diagrams and an analysis of specific fights, is a valuable addition to our knowledge.

In part two, dealing with the customs and life of the people, there are some valuable analyses, e.g., a useful description of the different types of weapons used by the Xosa, and a careful discrimination of the various

kinds of specialists who may be called in to deal with disease or abnormal situations in a family or in the community, but on the whole this section of the book is superficial and ill arranged.

Perhaps the least pleasing aspect of the book is its attempt to exalt the Ama-Xosa by lauding their customs and belittling those of neighbouring tribes, when to the outside observer no real objective claim to superior merit is warranted (cf., e.g., the discussion of *ukungena* and *ukuteleka* customs). In connection with other aspects of the culture, where a sympathetic understanding might have been looked for, the account is coldly apologetic, the description of the "*idini*," or sacrificial ritual, being especially poor. It would seem that Mr. Soga, like some, though by no means all, Christian ministers, has found it difficult to enter fully into the old religion of the people; and the same fact may have led him to give an interpretation of the *ukumetsha* custom which certainly does not fit in with information from other sources.

This part does not give us that intimate interpretation of Xosa culture which one would have liked to have from one who has the blood of the Xosa flowing in his veins, yet it undoubtedly does add to our knowledge of the Ama-Xosa and is welcome on this account.

A. W. HOERNLE.

Outlines of Tswa Grammar with practical exercises. By J. A. Persson. With a foreword by C. M. Doke, M.A., D.Litt. Cleveland, Central Mission Press, 1932. 209 pp. Price 7s. 6d.

This work, as the author tells us in his preface, is a revised and enlarged second edition of a manual which in its first edition appeared under the title *Outlines of Sheetswa Grammar* (Inhambane Mission Press, 1919), and which has long been out of print and very difficult to obtain. Its reappearance in this new and improved form will be welcomed by all those interested in the Bantu languages generally, and will be greeted with particular satisfaction by those more especially concerned with the Thonga cluster, of which the language under treatment is such an important member.

The book, which, incidentally, is well printed, on good paper, and serviceably bound, and which in this respect is a credit to the publishers as well as to the author, embraces a full and very interesting foreword by Professor Doke, a modest preface by the author, an admirably detailed table of contents, expositions of the phonesis, grammar and syntax of the language, interspersed with copious exercises for translation

from and into Tswa, a complete paradigm of the regular verb (an excellent feature), a key to the exercises, and a useful short Tswa-English vocabulary, and forms a good, workmanlike and reliable introduction to this form of Bantu speech.

Mr. Persson does not claim to have given us a complete scientific manual of Tswa, and, though his work is of a much higher standard than that which he modestly claims for it, we cannot quarrel with him for not having given us what he did not set out to give. Had the book made any claim to scientific method or completeness, one would have liked to see a more up-to-date standpoint in the matter of grammatical analysis generally, and a better grasp of modern conceptions of Bantu grammar in particular. But, as it is, though the material for a scientific analysis of Tswa grammar may not always be found in its proper place or in its proper perspective in the book, it is there to a very great extent, stated clearly and unequivocally, and on the whole very fully, and illustrated with a sufficiency of good examples, and further worked out in the very full exercises and the key to these. In his foreword, Professor Doke draws attention to some of the features which are particularly or uniquely characteristic of the Thonga cluster in general, and in this case of Tswa in particular, as well as to some of the general characteristics of Bantu grammar which Tswa, and Thonga generally, share with other Bantu languages, especially with those of the South-Eastern zone, and the present reviewer need not refer to these here, except to invite the reader's special consideration of them, and to make a suggestion differing from Professor Doke's interpretation of the facts in one particular. Professor Doke considers that the "proclitic *a*" of Thonga (which incidentally, appears as *e* in certain Thonga languages, e.g. Gwamba) "in many respects resembles the 'initial vowel of the noun-prefix' in the Bantu languages of dissyllabic-prefix type," and refers to this feature as "one of the hallmarks of the Thonga cluster." Now, in the first place, a proclitic vowel, usually *a*, but sometimes, e.g. in the South-West Africa languages, *o*, is by no means uniquely confined to Thonga. And further, instead of merely resembling the initial vowel of dissyllabic prefixes, such proclitic vowel is surely etymologically, if not identical, at least intimately connected with it, through their common origin from the combination of the hypothetical "article" *ya-* with the originally presumably monosyllabic noun-prefixes *mu-*, *va-*, *mi-*, etc., the Thonga forms *amu-*, *aba-*, *ami-* (*emu-*, *eġa-*, *emi-*) deriving from the unassimilated forms *yamu-*, *yava-*, *yami-*, and e.g. the Zulu forms *umu-*, *aba-*, *imi-* deriving from the assimilated forms *yumu-*, *yava*, *yimi-*. Where Thonga may be unique is in the syntactical use of this proclitic

vowel, though even here there are indications that a better acquaintance with the syntactical usages of other Bantu languages in which this feature appears may reveal that even here Thonga does not stand alone. But in the possession of this feature, and in its form, Thonga is but one of a number.

The present reviewer shares with Professor Doke the hope that at some future date Mr. Persson will give us even more details about this interesting language than he has given us now. In particular there is one feature in which Mr. Persson does not seem to have done himself or the book justice. This is in respect of the phonetical section of the work. In a purely practical manual, we may not have the right to expect a complete scientific statement of the grammar, or a minute analysis of the sounds and sound-laws of the language. But we do, one feels, have reason to expect more than has been here given us on the purely utilitarian side of the pronunciation of the language. The vowels are treated quite sufficiently for all everyday purposes, but the consonant-system comes off a decided second-best. There is no complete table of the consonant-sounds of the language, not even of the symbols representing those sounds, an omission which, especially in a book otherwise so well equipped with tabular material, is surprising and disappointing. Not only are we not given a complete table; the rules for the pronunciation of the symbols are sketchy in the extreme. For a certain number we are given the tempting but dangerous formula "consonants have the same sounds as in English, except as noted below"; for some, we are given descriptions which, in the legal phrase, are "vague and embarrassing"; for the "combined consonants" we are given no rules at all, but are "advised to acquire their correct pronunciation by having a Native read them over and over." This, even for a purely practical manual, is not enough, and is decidedly below the standard of the rest of the book; and it is doubly unfortunate that this weak section of a book which is otherwise of so commendably high a standard should occupy its very first pages.

Professor Doke commences his introduction with a very brief and summary statement of the position of Tswa among the Thonga languages, and in this connection takes up a position differing from that of Junod, hitherto our only printed source of information on the sub-classification of this cluster. Professor Doke speaks of a tripartite division, with Tswa as the most Northern sub-group, and includes Hlengwe as a dialect of Tswa. Junod has his by now familiar hexapartite division, with Hlengwe as one of the six sub-groups, and with Tswa as a dialect of Hlengwe. It will be interesting to see on what grounds Professor

Doke found it necessary to depart from Junod's classification. It may be merely a question of names: on the other hand, important principles in the regional-genealogical classification of the languages of the Thonga cluster may be involved. Professor Doke indicates, very rightly, how much there is still to be done before our knowledge of these languages can be said to be complete enough for scientific purposes, and it would seem as if any final grouping of the Thonga languages must await such further investigation. But in our lively anticipation of various favours to come, from Mr. Persson as well as from other investigators, let us not forget to be mindful of and thankful for what we have received, and let us in this particular case thank Mr. Persson for his valuable contribution to our knowledge of this interesting, beautiful and important cluster of Bantu languages.

G. P. LESTRADE.

The African Handbook and Travellers' Guide. Edited by Otto Martens and Dr. O. Karstedt for the German African Lines. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., xvi + 947 pp. and 23 maps. 10/6.

This is an excellent English edition of the German original published in 1930. It rightly claims "to be a dependable guide to the geographical, climatic, economic and traffic conditions of the various African countries" and a guide for travellers to and in Africa. It can be recommended to research workers coming to Africa and to those in South Africa who are planning field work in Northern territories. The bibliography supplied at the end of each section is most helpful.

This volume impresses upon the reader the remarkable extent to which Africa is now open to the traveller, and for the European or American tourist Africa has almost illimitable pleasurable possibilities!

J.

A SKETCH OF THE KIKWAYA LANGUAGE

By ANTHONY SILLERY

INTRODUCTION

The Bakwaya inhabit the narrow strip of coast that extends for some thirty miles south of the Mara River on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria. They are a small tribe of some 21,000 souls and are of extremely mixed origin. The original members of the tribe are supposed to have come from Kanadi in Bugwe (or Usukuma as it is commonly called), but since the advent of these there has been a considerable influx of people from other tribes, and the original Sukuma element has become considerably attenuated. In a previous essay entitled "Some notes in comparison of Kiruri" (for the origin of this misnomer see below) "Luzinza and Kisukuma," I endeavoured to show that there was at any rate a *prima facie* case for regarding Kikwaya as being more nearly related to the Western Lake languages than to the Nyamwezi group. My reasons for putting that suggestion forward need not be referred to here.

Of the Bakwaya themselves, being no ethnologist, I have but little of interest to say. They are primarily an agricultural people, industrious and apparently skilled cultivators. They keep a large number of cattle and also engage in fishing as a subsidiary industry. They are short of stature, and although some good types are found amongst them, they have not the sturdy good looks of the Wasukuma nor the shapeliness and wild beauty of the pastoral tribes in the vicinity.

When dealing with this people and their language, one is entering on ground hitherto untouched. Like so many other tribes, the Bakwaya have been misnamed ever since they first came within the purview of linguists, ethnologists and travellers. "*Ruri*," the name erroneously adopted by Sir Harry Johnston, is merely a term of contempt applied to the tribe by the Bakerewe, and probably means something like "a landless person, a drawer of water and hewer of wood for other people." However that may be, the people refer to themselves as Bakwaya and it is as Kikwaya that I shall speak of their language.

As to my essay itself, a few words of explanation are necessary. I have assumed in the readers a knowledge of at least one other Bantu language. Hence I have not considered it necessary to explain the

system of noun-classes, but have taken it for granted that the reader is acquainted with their various forms and functions. The noun-classes I have arranged in the order usually followed in works of this kind. It is that, I think, first put forward by Bleek and more recently by Professor Meinhof and followed by both Miss Werner and Sir Harry Johnston. The orthography is mainly that used by Bishop Steere. I have made no attempt at a complicated phonetic script. The vowels should be given the value they have in the Latin languages; consonants should be treated as in English with the exception that $j=dj$ and $z=dz$. The sign *ng'* stands for that now written η . It is found in Swahili in such words as *ng'ambo*, *ng'ombe*, etc., *n'* of course stands for *na*, the *-a* having been merged into the verb stem. It is of frequent occurrence in the stories.

The stories themselves are mainly concerned with the doings of that ubiquitous rascal, the Hare, Uncle Remus's "Brer Rabbit." It will be noticed that he overreaches himself at last, and is crushed between two stones.¹ I have no doubt however that he soon undergoes, as Dr. Musset has it, a "respectable resurrection." I wish that decency had permitted me to give the conclusion of the last story. Though not amusing, it is interesting in that it reminds one somewhat of the story of Joseph. The grateful *Ingeremaguta* takes the boy to a distant country, where he becomes a man of importance. There is a famine in his father's country and the cruel parent unwisely goes to his son's adopted land to look for food, with disastrous results to himself.

In the translations I have not attempted literal accuracy; nor have I tried to capture the raciness of the original, though keeping as near to the sense as possible. I hope that the vocabulary, which I have endeavoured to make as full as possible, and the Grammar, will supplement the unavoidable inaccuracy of free translation.

I would like to acknowledge the help received from Father Barthélemy, of the White Fathers' Mission, Nyegina, who kindly lent me his little Manuscript Grammar and his very full Vocabularies, and thus initiated me into the language.

¹ As, elsewhere, he is at last taken in by the Cock, who, pretending that he always sleeps without his head, induces the Hare to cut his own head off.

A. GRAMMATICAL OUTLINE OF KIKWAYA

THE PREFIX

There are in Kikwaya seventeen noun-classes. There are reasons for thinking there are eighteen. These will be discussed below. The prefix is disyllabic. In other words, the initial vowel, which is presumed to be a survival of an old demonstrative now amalgamated with the prefix, is present (for a fuller treatment of this see Miss Werner's *Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages*, pp. 48-50.) In practice however this initial vowel is very frequently dropped; e.g. in words very frequently used such as *omusani* (friend) when used in the vocative. It will be seen that it is frequently omitted in the stories. [In Zulu, apart from the cases where it is elided, the Initial Vowel is invariably dropped in the vocative, and before adjectives used predicatively.]

The noun classes are as follows :—

1.	Prefix :	<i>omu-</i>	<i>omunu</i> , a man
2.	„ :	<i>aba-</i>	<i>abanu</i> , men
3.	„ :	<i>omu-</i>	<i>omuti</i> , a medicine
4.	„ :	<i>emi-</i>	<i>emiti</i> , medicines
5.	„ :	<i>eli-, di-, i-</i>	<i>eliso</i> , an eye
6.	„ :	<i>ama-</i>	<i>ameso</i> , eyes
7.	„ :	<i>eki-</i>	<i>ekitoke</i> , a banana
8.	„ :	<i>ebi-</i>	<i>ebitoke</i> , bananas
9.	„ :	<i>in-</i>	<i>intyanyi</i> , an animal
10.	„ :	<i>gin-</i>	<i>gintyanyi</i> , animals

Note : In a mission Catechism published by the White Fathers I have seen *gisiku* “days.” I myself have never heard *gi-* but always *gin-*, see however *siku munana* (without prefix) in the 4th story.

11.	Prefix :	<i>olu-</i>	<i>olugoye</i> , a rope
12.	„ :	<i>otu-</i>	<i>otumula</i> , small boys

I am inclined to believe that this class exists in theory only. I have heard it once only. The usual plural of 13 is 8.

13.	Prefix :	<i>aka-</i>	<i>akamula</i> , a small boy
14.	„ :	<i>obu-</i>	<i>obunyasi</i> , a blade of papyrus
15.	„ :	<i>oku-</i>	The infinitives of verbs.
16.	„ :	<i>aha-</i>	<i>ahasi</i> , a place
17.	„ :	<i>ku-</i>	<i>kwiti</i> , at or on the tree (see last story : <i>kwiti kuyo</i> , up that tree.)

The above are the classes the existence of which seems beyond doubt. One is tempted to class a word like *omunwa* as number 18, i.e. it may originally have been a locative, with the prefix *mu-* (denoting "in") which has got transferred to class 3. I cannot do better than to refer to Miss Werner (op. cit. page 85.) True, it has a plural (class 4) but analogy would account for this.

ADJECTIVES AND THEIR AGREEMENT

There is nothing exceptional in the agreement of adjectives in Kikwaya. It is as follows :

1.	Prefix :	<i>mu-</i>	<i>omunu muzomu</i> (-zomu, pronounced <i>jomu</i> in the south, good, beautiful, etc.)
2.	„ :	<i>ba-</i>	<i>abanu bazomu</i>
3.	„ :	<i>mu-</i>	<i>omuti muzomu</i>
4.	„ :	<i>mi-</i>	<i>emiti mizomu</i>
5.	„ :	<i>li-</i>	<i>eliso lizomu</i>
6.	„ :	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ameso mazomu</i>
7.	„ :	<i>ki-</i>	<i>ekitoke kizomu</i>
8.	„ :	<i>bi-</i>	<i>ebitoke bizomu</i>
9.	„ :	<i>in-</i>	<i>intyanyi inzomu</i>
10.	„ :	<i>gin-</i>	<i>gintyanyi ginzomu</i>
11.	„ :	<i>lu-</i>	<i>olugoye luzomu</i>
12.	„ :	<i>tu-</i>	<i>otumula tuzomu</i>
13.	„ :	<i>ka-</i>	<i>akamula kazomu</i>
14.	„ :	<i>bu-</i>	<i>obunyasi buzomu</i>
15.	„ :	<i>ku-</i>	<i>okufwa kuzomu</i>
16.	„ :	<i>ha-</i>	<i>ahasi hazomu</i>
17.	„	as in 15.	
18.		if it exists in the word <i>omunwa</i> , as in 3.	

The numerals

The cardinal numbers agree like adjectives with the exception of 7, 8, 9, 10 which are invariable. They are as follows :—

1.	-mwi	2.	-bili
3.	-satu	4.	-nna
5.	-tanu	6.	-sasaba
7.	<i>muhungati</i>	8.	<i>munana</i>
9.	<i>kenda</i>	10.	<i>ikumi</i>
20.	<i>'makumi gabili</i>	100.	<i>egana</i>
	1000.	<i>kikwi.</i>	

The ordinal numbers are expressed by turning the cardinal number into a noun preceded by the possessive particle of the noun with which the numeral is to agree. In the case of the variable numerals "*ka*" is inserted between the particle and the numeral; in the case of the invariable numerals this is omitted.

Examples : *Omunu wa ka bili*, "the second man," but *Omunu wa muhungati*, "the seventh man."

THE PRONOUN

1. *The personal pronoun*

The "self-standing" forms are these :

- 1st person singular : *anye*
- 2nd person singular : *awe*
- 1st person plural : *eswe*
- 2nd person plural : *emwe*.

In the 3rd person singular and plural the demonstrative pronouns *uyo* and *bayo*, and in some cases *ulya* and *balya*, are used.

2. *The demonstrative pronoun*

This has the usual three forms :

Class	This	That (near)	That (distant)
1.	<i>unu</i>	<i>uyo</i>	<i>ulya</i>
2.	<i>banu</i>	<i>bayo</i>	<i>balya</i>
3.	<i>gunu</i>	<i>guyo</i>	<i>gulya</i>
4.	<i>ginu</i>	<i>giyo</i>	<i>gilya</i>
5.	<i>linu</i>	<i>liyo</i>	<i>lilya</i>
6.	<i>ganu</i>	<i>gayo</i>	<i>galya</i>
7.	<i>kinu</i>	<i>kiyo</i>	<i>kilya</i>
8.	<i>binu</i>	<i>biyo</i>	<i>bilya</i>
9.	<i>inu</i>	<i>iyo</i>	<i>ilya</i>
10.	<i>ginu</i>	<i>giyo</i>	<i>gilya</i>
11.	<i>lunu</i>	<i>luyo</i>	<i>lulya</i>
12.	<i>tunu</i>	<i>tuyo</i>	<i>tulya</i>
13.	<i>kanu</i>	<i>kayo</i>	<i>kalya</i>
14.	<i>bunu</i>	<i>buyo</i>	<i>bulya</i>
15.	<i>kunu</i>	<i>kuyo</i>	<i>kulya</i>
16.	<i>hanu</i>	<i>hayo, eyo</i>	<i>halya, elya.</i>
17.	see 15.		
18.	? see 3 and 4.		

3. *The possessive pronoun*

In the case of classes 1 and 2 (the possessor being a human being or any animal regarded as such in narrative) the possessive pronoun is as follows :

my, mine :	-ani	our, ours :	-eswe
thy, thine :	-ao	your, yours :	-emwe
his, her, hers :	-aye	their, theirs :	-ebwe.

In the 1st and 2nd person plural, however, I have also been given *-asu*, and *-anyu* respectively and this is the form taken in such composite possessives as "our, your home" and "our, your companion or companions" (see below).² It must be remembered that the Bakwaya are a very mixed tribe, and that many clans are presumed to have originated from Usukuma; *-eswe* is a Sukuma form, *-emwe* is not. In view of the mixed origin of the Bakwaya it may well be supposed that their language is probably derived from several different sources. Various forms with the same meaning can thus be accounted for and may represent, as it were, different tribes within the tribe.

When the possessor is in any class other than that of human beings (into which it will be seen that the animal heroes and villains of folklore sometimes, but not always, enter) the rule is that the suffix changes as well as the prefix. Again to quote Miss Werner " the first part of the word is the possessive particle agreeing with the thing possessed, and the second the pronoun agreeing with the possessor " (op. cit. page 96.)

The suffixes are as follows :

3. -gwo	4. -gyo
5. -lyo	6. -go
7. -kyo	8. -byo
9. -yo	10. -gyo
11. -lwo	12. -two
13. -ko	14. -bwo
15. -kwo	16. -ho
17. -kwo	18. as in 3 and 4.

² There is a parallel to this in Suto-Chwana (and perhaps elsewhere). The usual forms for "our" "your" and "their" are *-a rona*, (lit. "of us"), *-a lona* ("of you"), *-a bona* ("of them"), but when applied to terms of relationship (*-eso* or *-echo*), *-eno* and *-abo* are used, also in expressions like *ntlo eso* "the house of our family, our house," where it is implied that something is possessed in common with others. These are recognised as older forms than those usually current.

The words which I have called " composite possessives " have only one form whether the possessor is in the singular or plural, thus :

my or our companion, owejasu [lit. " he (or she) who is
 ours,"]

thy or your companion, *owejanyu*

his, her or their companion, *owejabo*.

at my or our home (Fr. chez moi, nous), ewasu

at thy or your home, ewanyu

at his, her or their home, ewabo.

6. *The inseparable pronoun*

1st person singular, subject : *ni-*

object : -ni-

When the pronoun is subject the *-i-* disappears before dentals (*t, d, n*) and is either completely or incompletely assimilated by another vowel if followed immediately by such vowel.

1st person plural, subject and object : *ki-*

2nd person singular, subject : u-

2nd person singular, object -ku-

2nd person plural, subject and object : *mu-*

The pronoun of the third person varies with the class. Except for class 1, the forms are the same for subject and object.

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 1. <i>a-</i> (as object <i>-mu</i> - ³ or <i>-n-</i>) | 2. <i>ba-</i> |
| 3. <i>gu-</i> | 4. <i>gi-</i> |
| 5. <i>li-</i> | 6. <i>ga-</i> |
| 7. <i>ki-</i> | 8. <i>bi-</i> |
| 9. <i>i-</i> | 10. <i>gi-</i> |
| 11. <i>lu-</i> | 12. <i>tu-</i> |
| 13. <i>ka-</i> | 14. <i>bu-</i> |
| 15. <i>ku-</i> | 16. <i>ha-</i> |
| 17. <i>ku-</i> | 18. <i>?</i> |

If the 18th class exists, the inseparable pronoun would be *mu-*, but the word *omunwa*, which seems to have belonged to it, has been assimilated to class 3.

³ It will be noticed that, in the Indicative Present, the forms used are somewhat different, *emi-* and *eki-* for 1st person, singular and plural respectively; 3rd person singular *ka-*. The 2nd person (singular and plural) prefix *o-* and the 3rd person plural *a-*.

In setting out the moods and tenses of the verb, only the pronouns for classes 1 and 2 will be given.

The object pronoun is always inserted immediately before the verb-stem. The reflexive pronoun, *-i-* is placed in the same position.

7. *The relative pronoun*

There are two ways of expressing the relative construction.

1. The sense is conveyed in a sentence such as this *Unu alataje hanu amanji gafwe, agege omwara wani*. "That person will stamp here so that water may well forth, let him take my daughter." (See the third story, below). The demonstrative *unu* is used to make clear the relation to the second clause.

2. By the use of the invariable particle *-ga*, which is suffixed. I have not heard this particle used in connection with anything living; it always seems to be used when referring to inanimate objects. Perhaps originally it concorded with some noun of the 6th class.

The two methods are perfectly illustrated in the 3rd story :

Kimwi Wakatuju akagamba ati : " *Enilya binu umenyerega.*" *Kimwi Nyamunkoro n'abwila Wakatuju ati* : " *Nanako n'anye biyo oulya.*" "Then Brer Rabbit said, 'I am eating something you know.' Then the crow said to Brer Rabbit, 'Give me a bit of what you are eating.'"

Interrogatives.

These have many functions, but for the sake of convenience they may be given here.

who ?	<i>ga ?</i>	what ?	<i>ki ?</i>
where ?	<i>haki ?</i>	when ?	<i>li ? -lihi ?</i>
how many ?	<i>-linga ?</i>	how, by what means ?	<i>kutiki ?</i>
	why ?	<i>kuba ki ?</i>	

Ga is invariable, but is never used alone. *Ni ga ?* "who is (he) ?" *Niki ?* "what is it ?"—but *ki* also seems to be used as an adjective, agreeing with its noun (like *-pi* in Swahili *neni lipi ?* "which word" ?). *Li* is invariable, but is always used with a verb : *ukaja li ?* "when did you come ?"

THE VERB

General Remarks

It is not my intention to give all the numerous moods, which, as anyone acquainted with a Bantu language knows, can be formed almost

indefinitely with the help of an auxiliary. The reader will come across such forms in the stories e.g. *Wakutuju yaliga ekaye*. etc. Assuming as I do, that the reader does know at least one other language, I do not consider further explanation necessary. Below are given the principal moods and tenses.

The Imperative Mood

The verb stem alone :

Kola : do thou.

A somewhat less abrupt manner of ordering a thing to be done would be to use the subjunctive, 2nd person sing. *ukole*.

As far as my researches go, the imperative plural does not exist, the subjunctive being invariably used : *mukole*.

The Infinitive Mood

This mood consists of the verb stem preceded by the prefix *oku-*: *okukola*.

The Indicative Mood (1) Present tense.

This tense is formed by prefixing the inseparable pronoun directly to the verb.

<i>Enikola</i>	<i>oukola</i>	<i>kakola</i>
<i>ekikola</i>	<i>omukola</i>	<i>abakola</i>

The 3rd person singular is somewhat puzzling. *Kijita* has the same form.

It will be noticed that the initial vowel is used in this tense.

(2) (a) The Near Past tense.

<i>Nakola</i>	<i>wakola</i>	<i>akola</i>
<i>kyakola</i>	<i>mwakola</i>	<i>bakola</i>

The inseparable pronoun prefixed to the tense prefix *-a-*.

(b) The Far Past tense. This tense indicates a time more distant than the previous one.

It is formed by prefixing the inseparable pronoun to the tense prefix *-ka*.

Nikakola ukakola akakola
kikakola mukakola bakakola.

In addition to the above there is a perfect mood in *-ere* or *-ire* which will be referred to later.

3. The Future Tense.

1. The near future. This is formed by prefixing the inseparable pronoun to the tense prefix *-la-* and changing the final *-a* into *-e* thus :

Ndakole (nilakole) ulakole alakole
kilakole mulakole balakole.

2. The more distant future.

This tense is formed by prefixing the inseparable pronoun to the tense prefix *-aka-* and changing the final *-a* into *-e*.

Nakakole wakakole akakole
kyakakole mwakakole bakakole.

3. A distant indefinite future with no reference to time. This is formed by prefixing the inseparable pronoun to the tense prefix *-li-*.

Nilikola⁴ Ulikola alikola
kilikola mulikola balikola.

The Perfect Mood

For the functions of this mood and also for reasons for classing it as a mood, see Werner (*op. cit.* pages 158, 166-67).

This mood is formed by the prefixing of the inseparable pronoun to the prefix *-a-* and the replacing of the final *-a* by the suffix *-ere*, when the preceding vowel is *o* or *e*, and *-ire* when the preceding vowel is *a*, *i*, or *u*.

Nakolere wakolere akolere
kyakolere mwakolere bakolere.

Monosyllabic verbs substitute *-aye*, *-eye*, *-iye*, *-oye*, and *-uye* for the endings *-ere* and *-ire* wherever these occur.

The Subjunctive Mood

Formed by prefixing the inseparable pronoun to the verb-stem, and changing the final *-a* into *-e*.

Nikole ukole akole
kikole mukole bakole.

⁴ One would expect *ndi-*.

The Conditional Mood

There appears to be only one tense in the conditional, which has two forms. 1. The inseparable pronoun is prefixed to the prefix *-aka*. 2. The inseparable pronoun is prefixed to the tense prefix *-ka-*. In both these forms the final *-a* is replaced by the suffix *-ire* or *-ere*.

Nakakolere or *nikakolere*, *wakakolere* or *ukakolere*, *akakolere*
kyakakolere or *kikakolere*, *mwakakolere* or *mukakolere*, *bakakolere*.

The above form is used as a past tense.

The Continuative Mood

Indicating that an action is continually being done, or continues for a long time. Formed by prefixing the inseparable pronoun to the prefix *-a-* and adding the suffix *-ga*.

<i>Nakolaga</i>	<i>wakolaga</i>	<i>akolaga</i>
<i>kyakolaga</i>	<i>mwakolaga</i>	<i>bakolaga</i>

Note. The suffix *-ga* is sometimes added to other tenses by analogy: e.g. in the last story: *Ndagendega*. This "continuative suffix" may, in Yao, be added to any tense. Cf. the use of *-nga* in Luganda.

There are two other forms for which it is difficult to find a name, which are presumably moods. I shall refer to them by their meanings:

*I am still doing*⁵. This may be regarded as another form of the continuative. It indicates however an anticipation that the action will ultimately come to an end and is therefore not so vague as the continuative given above. It is formed by prefixing the inseparable pronoun to the prefix *-kya-*.

<i>Nikyakola</i>	<i>ukyakola</i>	<i>akyakola</i>
<i>kikyakola</i>	<i>mutyakola</i>	<i>bakyakola</i>

The Negative Mood

Present.

Inseparable pronoun + negative particle *-ta-* + *ku* + stem.

<i>Ntakukola</i>	<i>Utakukola</i>	<i>atakukola</i>
<i>kitakukola</i>	<i>mutakukola</i>	<i>batakukola</i>

⁵ The Progressive [C.M.D.]

Past.

Inseparable pronoun + negative particle *-ta* + stem + suffix *-ere* or *-ire*.

<i>Ntakolere</i>	<i>utakolere</i>	<i>atakolere</i>
<i>kitakolere</i>	<i>mutakolere</i>	<i>batakolere</i> .

The "not yet" tense.⁶ Inseparable pronoun + *kya* + *li* + infinitive of the verb.

<i>Nkyali kukola</i>	<i>ukyali kukola</i>	<i>akyali kukola</i>
<i>kikyali kukola</i>	<i>mukyali kukola</i>	<i>bakyali kukola</i> .

Future.

In the negative future the only change from the affirmative is that the negative particle replaces the tense prefix in the immediate and more distant future, and is inserted between the inseparable pronoun and the tense prefix *-li-* in the distant indefinite future.

- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1. <i>Ntakole</i> | <i>utakole</i> | <i>atakole</i> |
| <i>kitakole</i> | <i>mutakole</i> | <i>batakole</i> . |
| 2. <i>Ntakakole</i> | <i>utakakole</i> | <i>atakakole</i> |
| <i>kitakakole</i> | <i>mutakakole</i> | <i>batakakole</i> . |
| 3. <i>Ntalikola</i> | <i>utalikola</i> | <i>atalikola</i> |
| <i>kitalikola</i> | <i>mutalikola</i> | <i>batalikola</i> . |

The negative conditional. Inseparable pronoun + negative particle + *-ka-* + stem + suffix *-ere* or *-ire*.

<i>Ntakakolere</i>	<i>utakakolere</i>	<i>atakakolere</i>
<i>kitakakolere</i>	<i>mutakakolere</i>	<i>batakakolere</i> .

The negative imperative. Singular and plural: Inseparable pronoun + negative particle + stem.

<i>Utakola</i>
<i>mutakola</i> .

The form most frequently used, however, is the subjunctive of the verb *okusiga*, to leave off, to desist, etc., followed by the infinitive of the verb indicating the action forbidden. *Usige (musige) okukola*. (Cf. the use of *leka* in Luganda).

The Derived Forms of the Verb

1. *The applied*: This is formed by the substitution of the termination *-era* or *-ira* for the final *-a*.

⁶The Exclusive [C.M.D.].

Here must be mentioned a form that is at first a little difficult to explain, viz., *ahongeye*. When however one hears such forms as *naku-leteye*, *nakubwiliye*, one is forced to the conclusion that the perfect tense of the applied form has as its termination *-ye*. *Ahongeye* is presumably an applied form of the lost verb *okuhonga*.

The passive : The passive is formed by changing the final *-a* into *-wa*.

The causative : The causative is usually formed by changing the final *-a* into *-ya*, but to this rule there are two important exceptions.

(a) When the final *-a* is immediately preceded by *l*, or consequently *r*, the termination is *-sya*.

(b) Monosyllabic verbs take the ending *-esya* or *-isya* according to the penultimate vowel.

The reciprocal : The reciprocal termination is *-ana*.

The verb "to be"

This verb is worthy of a separate section since it is so frequently used as an auxiliary.

The Indicative mood

Present tense.

<i>Ndi</i>	<i>uli</i>	<i>ali</i>
<i>kili</i>	<i>muli</i>	<i>bali</i> .

Is and *are* also rendered by the invariable copula *ni*. e.g. *niki?* it is what? i.e. what is it?

Future tense. Three forms as in other verbs.

1. <i>Ndabe</i>	<i>ulabe</i>	<i>alabe</i>
<i>kilabe</i>	<i>mulabe</i>	<i>balabe</i> .
2. <i>Nakabe</i>	<i>wakabe</i>	<i>akabe</i>
<i>kyakabe</i>	<i>mwakabe</i>	<i>bakabe</i> .
3. <i>Ndiba</i>	<i>uliba</i>	<i>aliba</i>
<i>kiliba</i>	<i>muliba</i>	<i>baliba</i> .

The past tense.

<i>Naliga</i>	<i>waliga</i>	<i>aliga</i>
<i>kyaliga</i>	<i>mwaliga</i>	<i>baliga</i> .

The Perfect mood

<i>Mbeye</i>	<i>ubeye</i>	<i>abeye</i>
<i>kibeye</i>	<i>mubeye</i>	<i>babeye</i> .

The Negative mood. The only tense that needs mention here is the present which is formed as follows : Inseparable pronoun + Negative particle + *li-*: *Ntali, utali*, etc.

The other tenses are usually formed by the use of the appropriate affirmative form and the above : *Naliga ntali*, etc.

THE ADVERB

The following is a list of the more frequently used adverbs :

Quickly :	<i>bwangu</i>	slowly :	<i>malamala</i>	near :	<i>hehi</i>
far :	<i>harera</i>	in the middle :	<i>hagati</i>	very :	<i>munu</i>
behind :	<i>inyuma</i>	in front of :	<i>imbele</i>	well :	<i>kuzomu</i>
badly :	<i>kubibi</i>	quite, completely :	<i>kata</i> .		

Though the writer has no claims whatsoever to being a phonetician, yet a few notes culled from his own everyday observations may be of use.

1. The aspirate.

The aspirate in Kikwaya is very weak indeed and is frequently indistinguishable. It seems reasonable to suppose that the verb *-ana*, to give, may have been *-hana* in view of its evident connection with the root *pa* and the fact that *p* becomes *h* (in some cases *w*) in the group of languages to which Kikwaya belongs. At the present time the aspirate of the demonstrative pronoun *hanu* is tending to disappear, and such forms as *anu*, *enu*, are taking its place. The Bakwaya, possibly owing to their mixed descent, seem to vary a good deal in their standard of correct speech. The use or omission of the aspirate is an example.

2. *o, u ; k, g ; z, j ;*

The above three groups of sounds are hard to distinguish. Actually no doubt the sound produced is something between the two in each case. I am however of the opinion that as one works south, *u* is more frequently heard than *o* and *z* than *j*.

Dahl's law is exemplified by such words as *ing'oko* where, however, instead of the first *k* becoming voiced, it combines with the preceding *n* to produce the velar nasal, which I have rendered by *ng'*, but which modern phoneticians write "*ŋ*" (see Miss Werner, Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages, pp. 228-229).

3. The stress in Kikwaya is usually on the penultimate :

E.g. *asokeréo, nṭamenyére, Bakwáya*.

B. KIKWAYA FOLK TALES

I

Wakatuju akatarana obusani na Wanjofu. Wakatuju yaliga ekaye m'kutwi kwa Wanjofu. Wanjofu aliga alimire lisambu lyaye. Kumara gintyanyi gija okulya lisambu lyaye. Wakatuju asokaga m'kutwi, n'agenda okulya lisambu ly Wanjofu, n'egwatya mu muheto. Wakatuju anu alolere Gintyanyi akagamba: "Obwitundya bwa kanyinyiri!" Intyanyi n'iija, n'igwatya ku muheto. Kumara Wakatuju n'agenda kubwira Wanjofu ati: "Intyanyi igwatisye ku muheto." Wanjofu anu agendere akanyora intyanyi iliko aketa. Lusiku lundi, anu Wakatuju alolere wanjofu ahongeye, kimwi n'ikemuka n'ikatulamo ligina m'kutwi kwa wanjofu n'ikagenda mwisambu n'ikalya oburo kwa Wanjofu, kweki n'ikasuba okwigwatya ku muheto, n'ikabina "Obwitundya bwa kanyinyiri." Anu Gintyanyi gyalolere kutyo kimwi gikalema ati: "Eswe uri." Kimwi gintyanyi gikakasiga hayo, n'kabina obwitundya bwako akeneyo. Anu Wanjofu alamukire akasingisya omutwe; anu asingisisye, kimwi ligina n'digwa hasi, kimwi Wanjofu n'agenda okulola lisambu lyaye, kimwi n'anyorako Wakatuju egwatisye ku muheto. Kimwi Wakatuju n'abwila wanjofu ati: "Unsosyeko ku muheto, musani wani, usige kuntaja. Anu ulantaje, utakunyita uri, nawe anu ulangwate amaguru ga inyuma kimwi n'unsungusya n'umbuma kw'igina, niho ounyita." Anu yagwatire Wakatuju amaguru ga inyuma, okuja okusungusya okubuma kw'igina, kimwi Wakatuju n'asanuka n'ikagenda, n'ikagamba ati: Nakutamya, kumba Ukantajire ukanyitire, nawe anu wangwata amaguru, oho! nakujimyajimya."

I

Brer Rabbit made friends with the elephant. Brer Rabbit lived in the elephant's ear. The elephant was cultivating his plantation. Wild animals came and raided his plantation.

One day Brer Rabbit climbed down from the elephant's ear and went to watch the elephant's plantation, and ate the crops, and got himself caught in a trap. When Brer Rabbit saw the animals he said "Come along: a game of swings." One animal came and got itself caught in the snare. Then Brer Rabbit went along to the elephant and said "An animal has got caught in the snare." The elephant went to his plantation, found the animal there and killed it.

Another day, when Brer Rabbit saw that the elephant was asleep, he rose and put a stone in the elephant ear. He then went off to the elephant's plantation and ate the elephant's millet, and again got himself

caught in the snare. He played his game of swings again. When the animals saw all this they would have nothing to do with it. "Not a bit of it," said they. So the animals left him there and he played his game of swings all by himself.

When the elephant woke up, he shook his head and when he shook it the stone fell to the ground. Then the elephant went to look at his plantation and found Brer Rabbit there. "Take me out of this trap, my friend," said Brer Rabbit, "and don't trample on me. If you trample on me, you will not kill me, but if you catch me by the hind legs and whirl me round and dash me against a stone, then you will kill me."

But when he caught Brer Rabbit by the hind legs so as to dash him against a stone, Brer Rabbit made one jump and ran away.

"I tricked you by telling you that if you trampled on me you would not kill me," said he, "but when you caught me by the legs aha! I bamboozled you completely."

II

Wakatuju akatarana obusani wa Wangwena. Aho Wakatuju akagenda okulola omusani waye Wangwena. Anu qhikire ika akabwila Wangwena ati: "Musani wani anye ndi murwaye, genda unsenyere ginkwi ibara; nawe ewasu, musani, abasenyaga na mabisi, ori nawe sasikanyaga gimbisi na ginyumu." Aho Wangwena akagenda okusenyerera omusani waye ginkwi. Anu asokereyo akanyora Wakatuju mu masiga esiko. Wangwena weki akekara emulyango. Aho Wakatuju akahemba omulilo akokya amagi ga Wangwena. Anu amagi gatumukire Wangwena akabusya: "Kandi kiyo ekitumuka niki Wakatuju?" Wakatuju ati: "Musani wani, amakwi ganu wasenya mabisi, nigo agatumuka." Wangwena ati: "Bara kilole amagi labe nigo gone." Aho Wakatuju mukuru wa rugongo, alabeye na mbali: Kana enu aliye amagi gone asigeremo limwi mu kyari; ndyo liyo abarire kuhika kutyo amagi galiga gali. Ori omwejo anu bwakyeye, kakabwila Wangwena ati: "Musani wani kora unsyabasye bwangu, omuyaga gukyali kuja." Kumara Wangwena akemuka okuja okusyabasya omusani waye. Anu basyabaye okuja okutema m'ubusiba, kimwi muka Wangwena n'aragirisya omurume ati: "Wangwena wee! subya, akasani kao kayo kaliye amagi geswe gone." Aho wangwena abusya Wakatuju ati: "Omugasi uyo kagamba ki?" Wakatuju ati: "Kakubwila ati, syabasya bwangu omusani wao, Omuyaga gwaja." Aho Wangwena ati: "Hene, siga niuge bwangu omusani kaja okutubira." Nkokutyo, nkokutyo, anu bahikire hehi ku murambo; limwi Wakatuju n'ejunga ku mugongo gwa Wangwena, nkagwa ku murambo, nkabirima, nkakomora Wangwena ati:

"Ho, ho, ho, *nalitamy limatwi masibe.*" Wangwena akakatengera anu kalaje okunywa amanzi akagwate. Anu kejire okunywa amanzi kimwi Wangwena nakagwata, keki nkabwila Wangwena ati: "Wone uli itamutam, wasiga okuguru, wagwata liti, hu, hu, hu!" Limwi Wangwena n'atatira Wakatuju n'agwata liti. Kimwi akamula n'kejunga n'kagwa alya ati: "Nalitamy Limakarakamba!" Kweki Wangwena n'asuba okukagwata keki n'kabwila Wangwena ati: "Nawe utakulola kutyo kuyo n'kuguru kwa undi: anye ulandolere ndina kirona lusiku na lumwi?" Kimwi Wangwena nakatatira kweki. Kimwi ori n'kalema okuja okunywa amanzi ga ku nyanja nkanywaga mu bitaro.

II

Brer Rabbit made friends with the crocodile and went to pay a visit to his friend the crocodile's home. When he arrived there he said to the crocodile: "My friend I am ill; go and collect firewood in the bush; and mark you, friend, in our country they collect green wood so now you collect both green as well as dry wood." Off went the crocodile to collect wood for his friend. When he came back he found Brer Rabbit sitting among the fire-stones in the kitchen. The crocodile himself sat in the doorway. So Brer Rabbit lit the fire and roasted the crocodile's eggs. When the eggs cracked the crocodile asked: "Now what is that crackling, Brer Rabbit?" "It is the green wood you brought," answered Brer Rabbit. "Count the eggs," said the crocodile, "to see whether they are all there." Then Brer Rabbit, Lord of the Bush, played a trick: for he had eaten all the eggs save one that he had left in the nest, so he counted that one till he reached the number of eggs there had been before.

Now the next day, at dawn, Brer Rabbit said to the crocodile: "My friend, ferry me over quickly; the wind is not up yet." Then the crocodile rose, to ferry his friend across. When they had got as far as mid-stream, the crocodile's wife called out to her husband: "Come back, crocodile! that little friend of yours has eaten all our eggs." "What did the woman say?" asked the crocodile. "She told you to ferry across quickly as the wind is getting up," answered Brer Rabbit. "Yes indeed," said the crocodile, "I must swim quickly, lest my friend should get drowned." So they went along till they reached the other side. Then the Lord of the Bush jumped from the back of the crocodile and fell ashore and ran away laughing at the crocodile. "Ho! Ho! Ho!" said he, "I got the better of old deaf-ears." So the crocodile lay in wait for Brer Rabbit so as to catch him when he came down to drink. When he came down the crocodile caught hold of him. "You are a fool," said Brer

Rabbit, "you left my leg and caught hold of a tree ha ! ha ! ha !"⁷ So the crocodile let go of Brer Rabbit's leg and grabbed a tree. The youngster leapt out of the way and shouted, "I deceived old scaly-back." The crocodile returned to the charge and caught Brer Rabbit again. "Cannot you see that this is someone else's leg," said Brer Rabbit, "have you ever seen me with a sore on my leg for as much as one day ?" So the crocodile let Brer Rabbit go.

Henceforth Brer Rabbit would not go to the lake to drink, but drank at wells.

III

Aliga alio omunu umwi n'omuhara waye. Aho amanzi galiga gaburire munsu yone. Aho omunu uyo akakofya ginyanyi gyone. Anu ginyanyi gyone gyekofyanyisye omunu uyo akagamba ati : "Unu alataje hanu amanzi gafwe, agege omuhara wani."

Ginyanyi gyone gyaliga gikofyanyisye, okusokera injofu okuhika intyanyi y'obusiti. Aho Wandwi akemuka akataja hansi oluteri lukaguruka. Wanjofu wone akemuka akataja hansi oluteri lukaguruka. Ginyanyi gyone gikataja hansi oluteri nduguruka era. Ori akasigara Wakatuju wekiweki. Aho Wandwi akayika ati : "Wakatuju wone, taja kilole." Wakatuju akagamba ati : "Wanjofu wone utakulola kutyo oburenge bwani bunu butoto ; bumale butule okutaja hansi ?" Anu amalile okugamba kutyo kimwi akamula n'kataja hansi. Kimwi ekinyirira n'kija. Anu Wandwi alolere kutyo akagamba ati : "N'anye nagafifya." Kumala Wakatuju akamubwila ati : "Taja kilole kweki." Wandwi akasuba okutaja oluteri lukaguruka. Wanjofu wone akataja oluteri lukaguruka. Ginyanyi gyone gikasubisya, oluteri nduguruka era.

Kumala kweki Wanjofu akabwila Wakatuju ati : "Wakatuju, wone taja, kilole." Wakatuju akagamba ati : "Oburenge bwani butambari, buje butuleo ?"

Anu mukuru wa rugongo amalire kugamba ati, kimwi n'ataja hansi amanzi n'gafwa ; ginyanyi gyone n'gimama okunywa Wakatuju n'ahita n'omugasi. Wanjofu n'amsingilila, kimwi Wakatuju n'engira mu kiswa. Kimwi Wanjofu n'asuba ika, akatulao Nyamunkoro w'okulinda, weki akagenda okugira insuka ika eyo kusimba eliobo ly'ekiswa. Anu Wanjofu asokereo, kimwi Wakatuju n'etakunya mu lyobo. Kimwi Nyamunkoro n'amubusya ati : "Wakatuju, oulya ki ?" Kimwi Wakatuju akagamba

⁷ Cf. *Uncle Remus* : "Tu'n loose dat stump-root and catch hold of me !"

ati : "Enilya binu umenyerega." Kimwi Nyamunkoro n'abwila Wakatuju ati : "Nanako n'anye biyo oulya." Kimwi Wakatuju n'amubwila ati : "Rabe owenda nkuaneko, tangata urobore ameso." Anu Nyamunkoro aroboye ameso, kimwi Wakatuju n'ikabumiramo insenyi, kimwi Linyamunkoro ndilila, Wakatuju weki n'abirima nomugasi.

Anu Wanjofu ejire akanyora Nyamunkoro, ndilila, akabusya ati : "Nyamunkoro, oulilira ki?" Kimwi Nyamunkoro akagamba ati, "Akatuju kan'gen'an'gena ati, rabe owenda nkuaneko inkongo, tangata urobore ameso, kimwi n'kabumiramo insenyi." Kimwi Wanjofu akagamba ati : "Kagenda haki?" Kimwi Nyamunkoro akagamba ati : "Hau ! Ntakumenya eyo kagenda hamwi kali mu lyobo muyo." Wanjofu akasimba elyobo kuhika akahikira obura bw'ekiswa, atanyoreremo kinu. Mukuru wa rugongo aliga esereko nomugasi waye.

III⁸

Once upon a time there was a man who had a daughter. There was a drought all over the countryside. The man collected all the animals together and when they were all gathered together he said, "The one who stamps on the ground so that the water flows forth, let him take my daughter."

All the animals were gathered together, from the elephant right down to the very last animal. Then the lion rose and stamped on the ground : the dust flew up. The elephant himself stamped : the dust flew up. All the animals stamped on the ground and nothing but dust flew up. There only remained Brer Rabbit. Quoth the Lion, "Come on, Brer Rabbit, you stamp and let us see." "O Mr. Elephant," said the Rabbit, "cannot you see how tiny my little paws are? How can they stamp on the ground?"

No sooner had he said this, than the youngster stamped on the ground. Immediately a little moisture appeared. When the lion saw this he exclaimed "I made that come." "Well," said Brer Rabbit, "stamp again and let us see." The lion stamped and the dust flew up. The elephant himself stamped again, and the dust flew up. All the animals had another try, and nothing but dust flew up. Then the elephant said to Brer Rabbit : "Now, Brer Rabbit, you stamp and let us see."

⁸ This story is found in Swahili, in *Kabaraka* (p. "Hadithi ya Vinyama") and elsewhere, e.g., it is part of "The Lion and the Hare," in Mr. Posselt's *Fables of the Veld*, but there it is the tortoise whose stamping produces water. The Kikwaya opening is unusual; in most versions the action is entirely confined to the animals.

"But my little paws are so tiny," said Brer Rabbit, "how can they do it?"

So saying the Lord of the Bush stamped on the ground and water flowed forth. All the animals bent down to drink and Brer Rabbit went off with the woman.

The elephant followed him so, Brer Rabbit went into an ant-heap. The elephant went home and put the crow on guard whilst he himself went home to get a spade to dig out the hole in the ant-heap.⁹ When the elephant had gone Brer Rabbit started to munch and to smack his lips inside the pit. "What are you eating, Brer Rabbit," asked the crow. "I am eating something you know," answered Brer Rabbit. "Give me a bit of what you are eating," said the crow. "If you want me to give you some," said Brer Rabbit, "first pop out your eyes in this direction."

Directly the Crow popped out his eyes Brer Rabbit beat up sand into them. The crow started crying, and Brer Rabbit ran off with the woman.

When the elephant arrived, he saw that the crow was crying. "Why, crow, he said, what are you crying for?" The crow answered "Brer Rabbit deceived me by saying that if I wanted a grain-ball, I must first of all pop out my eyes, and then he beat sand up into them." "Where did he go?" asked the elephant. "I have no idea where he went," said the crow, "perhaps he is still in the hole here."

The elephant dug out the hole till he got right down to the bowels of the ant-heap, but he found nothing; the Lord of the Bush had gone off with his woman.

IV

Wakatuju akatarana obusani n'abanu, ati: "Munaneko obwalwa." Abakaruka bakalema ati: "Labe owenda kikuane Obwalwa, siga kikwite." —Wakatuju kimwi bakamwita.— "Anu kilakuteke siku munana, ukalema okuhya, hayo kilamenye okukuana obwalwa." Anu bamtekere omugasi n'asya ati: "Ndabusye, nije mbulire Wakatuju, omukuru wa rugongo." Ati: "Ubulire nyoko." Omwana akongwa n'kafuma nyira. Anu nyira mwene onguywe kutyo, akemuka kutuna kusoma omwana n'orugera, kumala nyira mwene n'asuba okusya n'asya n'etegeresya kutyo Wakatuju kamufuma kumala n'agamba ati: "Nali nituna okusoma omwana wani, Nintoga ati,

⁹ Cf. *Uncle Remus*, where it is the Turkey-buzzard who is left on guard. This episode probably occurs in every Bantu language:

hamwi kabeha kana uri." Kumala n'atulako obusima. Anu bwahiye kimwi m'basabura inyama ya Wakatuju. Anu bamalire okusabura, Wakatuju n'ekumanya kumala n'ikabirima, n'ikagamba ati: "Ori basani, munaneke obwalwa. " Kumala bamuana. Anu bamuaye, kimwi n'anywa. Anu anyweye, kumala obundi n'anikira kwigina, kumala Ingoko n'ilya obukanja bwaye. Anu ejile Wakatuju, n'agamba ati: "Mai! undiliye obukanja bwani. Obukanja bwali butali bwani, bwali buli bwa Bakaruka, abakaruka batakabun'gaye, kuba bantekere siku munana nkalema okuhya. " Kumala Ingoko n'inya ligi. Wakatuju n'agenda ku mgera n'anyora amanzi n'gahulula, n'gagega ligi lyaye n'agamba ati: Mai! Ungegeye ligi lyani; ligi lyali litali lyani, lyali lili lya Wangoko; Wangoko atakaling'aye: akandira obukanja bwani. Obukanja bwali butali bwani, bwali buli bwa bakaruka. Abakaruka batakabun'gaye: bantekere siku munana nkalema okuhya. " Omugera n'gumuliha amanzi; n'agenda ku bahesi; ati: "Abahesi banu omuhesera ki?" Bati: "Kihesera mafwefwe." Ati: "Abandi kihesera manji, kandi emwe omuhesera mafwefwe." Abahesi m'bamusaba ati: "Musani weswe, kianeko amanzi." Kimwi n'abaana, ati: "Mumale gone." Anu bamalire Wakatuju n'agamba ati: "Mai! mumalire amanzi gani. Amanzi gali gatali gani, gali ga omugera; omugera atakagan'gaye, agegere ligi lyani. Ligi lyali litali lyani, lyali lili lya Wangoko. Wangoko atakalin'gaye, aliye obukanja bwani. Obukanja bwali butali bwani, bwali buli bwa bakaruka. Abakaruka batakabun'gaye, bantekere siku munana nkalema okuhya." Kimwi abahesi m'bamuliha ebigeso Wakatuju nagenda ku bagesi. Ati: "Omugesera ki?" Ati: "Ekigesera ebityi." Kumala Wakatuju n'agamba ati: "Abandi ekigesera ebigeso, kandi emwe omugesera ebityi." Kimwi abagesi m'bamusaba Wakatuju ati: "N'ukianeko ebigeso, kigesere," Kimwi Wakatuju n'agamba ati "Anu mulamale okugesera, mwese m'kiguru." Anu bamalire okugesera, limwi m'besa m'kiguru, kumala Wakatuju n'aja. "Mun'gane ebigeso byani." Kumala balya m'bagamba ati: Nawe wakibwira ati, anu mulamale mwese m'kiguru. "Limwi balya abagesi m'bamuliha oburo, anu bamulihire, kumala n'agenda ku balefi." Ati: "Abalefi omulya ki?" Ati: "Ekilya busangura." Kumala n'agamba ati: "Abandi ekilya oburo kandi emwe omulya busangura." Kumala m'bamusaba ati: "Musani weswe, kianeko oburo." Kumala Wakatuju n'abaana, ati: "Anu mulamale, mwese n'orukanga." Anu Wakatuju ejire, ati: "Mai! mun'gane oburo bwani. Oburo bwali butali bwani, bwali buli bwa bagesi. Abagesi batakabun'gaye bagegere ebigeso byani. Ebigeso byali bitali byani, byali bili bya bahesi. Abahesi batakabun'gaye, baheseye amanzi gani. Amanzi gali gatali gani, gali gali ga Wamugera. Wamugera atakagan'gaye, agegere ligi lyani. Ligi lyali litali lyani, lyali lili lya Wan'goko. Wan'goko atakalin'gaye, aliye obukanja bwani. Obukanja bwali butali bwani, bwali

buli bwa bakaruka. Abakaruka batakabun'gaye, bantekere siku munana nkalema okuhya." Abalefi m'bamuliha gingibo. Kumala akagenda ku basubi. Ati : Abasubi, omusubira ki? Ati : "Ekisubira ebisana." Kumala Wakatuju akagamba ati : "Abandi ekisubira gingibo, kandi emwe omusubira ebisana. "Kumala abasubi m'bamusaba ati : "N'ukia-neko gingibo kisubire omwenga weswe." Anu amalire okubaana, n'asuba okusaba ati : "Mungane gingibo gyani." Limwi balya m'bagamba ati : "Nawe wali ukiaye, kandi waja okukitesya." Kumala balya m'bamuliha omwenga uyo baliga m'basuba. Kumala Wakatuju n'agega omwenga. Anu ahikire mu'nzira, akanyora amagina n'galwana, n'akola "Tu! Tu! Tu! nanye omukuru wa rugongo kata; enimenya okutanya amagina." Kumala n'abirima okugenda hagati y'amagina. Limwi amagina n'gakabandirisya, kimwi n'gaketa kata limwi omwenga n'asuba ewabo.

IV.

Brer Rabbit made friends with mankind. "Give me beer," said he. But the elders refused. "If you want us to give you beer," they said, "let us kill you." So they killed Brer Rabbit. "If we cook you for eight days and you do not get boiled," they continued, "then we will see our way to give you beer." While they were cooking him a woman was grinding corn. "I will grind the meal, she said, so as to eat with it Brer Rabbit, the Lord of the Bush." "Eat your mother with it," snapped Brer Rabbit. The child heard him thus reviling her mother, and when the mother herself heard about it, she rose with the intention of sticking a needle into her child. But then she went back to her grinding, for she understood that Brer Rabbit had reviled her. "I sought to stick a needle into my child," she said, "I thought that perhaps she was telling lies, but such was not the case." Then she put the porridge on the fire, and when it was cooked, they served up Brer Rabbit's flesh. When they had served him up, Brer Rabbit gathered all the pieces together, and ran away, saying, "Now my friends, give me beer." They gave it him and he drank it up and poured out what was left, and a fowl ate up the dregs. When Brer Rabbit came along he explained. "Mother o' mine! You have eaten up my dregs; they were not mine as yet, they still belonged to the elders. The elders did not give them to me, they cooked me for eight days, and I was not done." So the fowl laid an egg. Brer Rabbit went to the river, and found the water flowing past, and it carried away his egg. "Mother o' mine!" he cried, "you have carried away my egg. The egg was not mine yet, it still belonged to the fowl. The fowl did not give it me, it ate up my beer-dregs. The beer dregs were not mine as yet, they still belonged to the elders. The elders did not give them to

me ; they cooked me for eight days and I did not get done." The river paid him in water and he went off to the blacksmiths. " Well, you blacksmiths," he said, " what do you temper the iron with," " We temper it with spittle," they replied. " We other folk," said Brer Rabbit, " temper it with water, whereas you are content to use spittle ! " The blacksmiths begged him to give them water. He gave it them forwith, saying : " Finish it up." When they had finished it, Brer Rabbit said " Mother o' mine ! You have finished my water. The water was not mine as yet, it still belonged to the river. The river did not give it me ; it took away my egg. The egg was not mine as yet, it still belonged to the fowl. The fowl did not give it me, it ate my beer-dregs. The beer-dregs were not mine as yet, they belonged to the elders. The elders did not give them me, they cooked me for eight days and I did not get done." So the Blacksmiths paid him in knives.

Brer Rabbit then went off to the harvesters. " What do you reap with ? " he asked, " We reap with cudgels," they answered. " We others," said Brer Rabbit, " reap with knives, whereas you are content to reap with cudgels." Then the harvesters entreated Brer Rabbit to give them knives. " When you have finished reaping," said Brer Rabbit, " throw them down the ant-heap." When they had finished reaping they threw the knives down an ant-heap. Whereupon Brer Rabbit came up " Please give me my knives," he said. " But you told us to throw them down the ant-heap when we had finished reaping," they protested. So the harvesters gave Brer Rabbit some bulrush millet in compensation. When they had paid him he went off to the herdsmen. " Herdsmen," said he, " what do you eat ? " " We eat berries," they answered. " We others," said Brer Rabbit, " eat millet, whereas you are content to eat berries." So the herdsmen entreated him to give them some millet. Brer Rabbit gave them some. " When you have finished," he said, " throw the basket away." When Brer Rabbit came back he said, " Give me my millet. The millet was not mine as yet, it still belonged to the harvesters. The harvesters did not give it me, they took my knives away. The knives were not mine as yet, they still belonged to the blacksmiths. The blacksmiths did not give them me, they used my water to temper their iron with. The water was not mine as yet, it still belonged to the river. The river did not give it me, it took away my egg. The egg was not mine as yet, it still belonged to the fowl. The fowl did not give it to me, it ate my beer-dregs. The beer-dregs were not mine as yet, they belonged to the elders. The elders did not give them me ; they cooked me for eight days and I did not get done." The herdsmen paid him hides in compensation. So Brer Rabbit went to a wedding party. " Well, you wedding

guests," said he, "what kind of dowry do you give in marriage?" "We give rock-rabbits," they answered. "We others," said Brer Rabbit, "give hides as dowry, whereas you are content to give rock-rabbits." "Give us hides," begged the wedding guests, "wherewith we may marry our bride." So Brer Rabbit gave them a hide. When he had given it them, he came back and said, "Please give me my hide." "But you gave it us," they protested, "now you come to take it away again." So they compensated Brer Rabbit by giving him the bride they were giving away in marriage. Brer Rabbit took away the bride. When he had gone away, he saw two stones fighting. He went "Tu! Tu! Tu! I am absolute Lord of the Bush. I am the man to judge between stones." He ran between the stones, they crashed together and killed him dead as a doornail, and the bride returned home.¹⁰

V

Omukaruka aliga ana bana babili bamula bone. Olusiku lumwi esemwene akagenda okutega omutege okumala akasuba ika. Omwejo akatuma abana baye okulola omutege. Abana bakagenda anu bahikire, bakanyora Ingeramaguta igwatisye. Kimwi Ingeramaguta n'ibalilia muno n'ibalira gingaro. Okumala omwana umwi n'aisurumura, n'abwila owejabo ati: "Utaja kumbura ku tata; byone binu ulambwilega ndakolega; norwo imbura n'igwa ndagendega okuleta ebimori, nintula mu'ntoto." Kimwi m'baja ika m'babwila esemwene ati: "Kitanyorako kinu uri." Kimwi esemwene n'agamba ati: "Tali kinu." Ori omwana undi akekalaga okutuma owejabo kunsiku, norwo imbura n'igwa. Nkokutyo nkokutyo, owejabo uyo akahigwa, akabwila owejabo ati: "Lero ntakuleta bimori uri." Kimwi owejabo n'agamba ati: "Ntakakakubure ku tata, labe walema?" Kimwi owejabo ati: "Labe owenda n'ubure." Esemwene ati: "Gamba, tata." Kimwi omwana uyo n'abwila esemwene ati: "Kyanyorere Ingeramaguta yao igwatisye kimwi naitatira n'igenda." Kimwi esemwene n'agamba ati: "Tali kinu, mwana wani." Kumala n'agamba ati: "Bana bani kigende okutema liti mw'ibara." Anu bahikire mw'ibara kimwi esemwene nabwila omwana uyo aliga asibuye Ingeramaguta yaye ati: "Tuna ginjeko gy'okulinyira kwiti kunu." Kumala omwana akarosya ginjeko. Anu amalile kimwi esemwene n'amubwila ati: "Mbe ori linya." Anu alinyaga esemwene wone n'amusoka inyuma. Anu ahikire kwiti igulu, kimwi esemwene n'asuba kinyumanyuma, n'abutula ginjeko gyone. Kimwi omwana ati: "Tata, wansiga kunu, ndeke kutiki?" Esemwene ati: "Nakubwilaga hoho! siga uleleko." Kimwi n'agenda n'amusiga kwiti kuyo.

¹⁰ This, too, is a very widely distributed story, though the end is new to me. See an article in the *African Monthly* for February, 1910. A. W.

Omwana uyo akekala kwiti kuyo olubafu lw'olubara lundi lukabora. Aho gintyanyi gyone gikekofyanya kiimwiimwi n'igamba ati : " Kanu kasiki kanu munu ? " Omwana ulya akagamba ati : " Ntali kasiki ndi munu ; tata antumire okusibura Ingeramaguta, ikagenda, ya Bujinza." Nkokutyoko nkokutyoko, gintyanyi gyone gikawayo. Ori akaja Wangeramaguta omwene akabuma hansi ati : " Kanu kasiki kanu munu ? " Omwana ulya ati : " Ntali kasiki ndi munu ; Tata antumire okusibura Ingeramaguta, ikagenda, ya Bujinza." Kimwi Wangeramaguta n'agamba ati : " Nawe uli kunu, musani wani." Kumala Ingeramaguta n'igenda okutema ginjogo n'imala n'igitula kwiti, n'ilinya kwiti n'isoyako omusani waye n'amutula kw'igina.

The rest of the story which is an account of the boy's revenge on the unnatural father is very unsavoury and is not particularly amusing.

Note. It will be noticed that in the word *kwiti* which appears to be a noun of the 17th class, I have not separated the locative prefix from the noun as, for instance, in "*mw'ibara*."

V

There was once an old man who had two children, both of them boys. One day the father went out to set a trap, and then he returned home. The next day he sent his children out to look at the trap. When they arrived at the trap they found that an Ingeramaguta had got caught. The Ingeramaguta, with uplifted hands, wept piteously to them, whereupon one of the children released it, saying to his companion : " Do not speak to father about this. I will do everything you tell me to do ; I will go out and fetch the calves even in the rain, though I have to wade through mud."

Henceforward, the other child spent his time sending his brother on errands, even though it might be raining, till finally the brother got tired, and said to the other " I will not go and fetch the calves to-day." " If you refuse," said the brother, " shan't I just go and tell father about your letting the Ingeramaguta go ? " " Well, if you want to," answered the other, " go and tell him." " What is it my little man ? " said their father. " We found an Ingeramaguta in the trap, which was your property, and he released it and it went away." " Never mind, my son," said the father. " Now, my children," said the father later, " let us go and cut a tree in the bush." When they got into the bush, the father said to the child who had let the Ingeramaguta go, " Find a ladder to climb up this free." So the child made a ladder. When he had finished making it the father said to him : " Up you go ! " While he was climbing the father

followed him up : when he had reached the top, his father backed away to the bottom and cut away the whole ladder. "Father," the child cried, "you have left me here; how shall I get down?" "Aha!" said the father, "that is your look-out, just wait and see." Then he went away and left him there in the tree. The child stayed up in the tree till one of his sides rotted¹¹. All the animals gathered together one by one saying: "What is this, sap¹² or man?" And the child cried: "It is not sap, it is I, a man. My father sent me to release an Ingeramaguta, and it went away; it was from Bujinza." And so it went on till there were no animals left. Then along came the Ingeramaguta himself and he struck the ground below and said "What is this, sap or man?" And the child cried: "It is not sap, it is I a man. My father sent me to release an Ingeramaguta, and it went away, it was from Bujinza." "So it is you, my friend who are up there," said the Ingeramaguta. Then the Ingeramaguta went to cut a ladder and placed it against the tree and climbed up and extricated his friend and laid him on a rock.

NOTES ON THE STORIES

Wakatuju is, properly, the Hare (*Sungura* of the Swahili, *Kalulu* of the Anyanja), but in translating these stories, the familiar "Brer Rabbit" has been found preferable.

Story No. 1. p. 287.

"*Obwitundya bwa Kanyinyiri*," a game of swing, literally a game of bats, from the habit bats have of suspending themselves by the legs and swinging to and fro. Brer Rabbit is presumably caught in some noose snare and invites the animals to swing to and fro with him in the hope of getting one of them to take his place. The swing is quite a popular amusement in African villages. For its use as a trap, cf. Steere, *Swahili Tales* (p. 383) where the *pepo* "tied up a swing" (*akafunga pembea*) and tried to make the youth get into it in order to cause his death. A similar

¹¹ A parallel to this somewhat repulsive incident occurs in a *Kinga* story (Wolff, *Grammatik*, 1905), where the youth, thrown into a pit by his envious companion, escapes with his life, "but one of his sides rotted away." Gutmann (Dichten und Denken der Dschagga-Neger, p. 34) gives a *Chaga* story in which a woman falls over a cliff while cutting grass, and lies helpless for some time. When she is rescued "one side of her was like a hairy fungus." It may be of interest to recall that the *Basumbwa* of Northern Unyamwezi, who personify Death under the name of *Lirufu*, describe him as a being with one side like a living man, the other quite decayed. (Usukuma is not very far from the country of the *Bakwaya*.) A.W.

¹² Is this word *kasiki* not rather "small log," or "piece of wood"?—cf. Swahili *kisiki*, Ganda *ekisiki* (the diminutive *akasiki* might also be used.) A.W.

incident occurs in an unpublished Duruma tale, collected by Sir Claud Hollis.

Story No. 4, p. 292 (1) *Anu bamtekere kana uri.*"

Apparently what happened was this : Brer Rabbit used the term of abuse to the woman who did not hear it. Her child who has not been previously mentioned, and of whose sex we are left in ignorance, did hear it and reported to the mother. The mother did not believe it at first and sought to stab the child with a needle. Then she realized that the child was telling the truth and returned to her work.

(2) *Mbulire wakatuju* "That I may eat it (i.e. the porridge to which (the meat of) Brer Rabbit will be a relish). *M-bu-lire* : *m-n* (pronoun of 1st person) ; *-bu* object pronoun agreeing with *obusiba*, "porridge," understood ; *lira*, applied form of *-lya* "eat." Literally "that I may eat him for it."

Story No. 5, p. 297 "*Ntali kasiki Bujinza.*"

This is a somewhat elliptical phrase and should not be read to mean an intention on the father's part that the Ingeramaguta should be released, but rather that the father sent the child *with the result that* the Ingeremaguta was released.

An interesting parallel to this story, but with important differences, has been published by Mr. Frederick Johnson, in *Bantu Studies* for December, 1931. This comes from the Iramba tribe in Central Tanganyika and is called "The story of Mlilua." The mythical creature (in this case, a bird) is here called Kangaga.

Some of the catch phrases in these old stories are frequently unintelligible at the present day and the original allusion is lost. It is difficult to see why Buzinza should be introduced. Bujinza or Buzinza is that part of the lake littoral between the Mwanza and Emin Pasha Gulfs. The Bazinza are closely connected with the Bahaya, from which tribe several clans of the Bakwaya are said to have come. A large number of Bakerewe are also said to have come from Buzinza. The language of the Bazinza (Luzinza) belongs to the group of which Luganda is the representative. To this group Kikwaya appears to approximate.

" *ikagenda ya Buzinza.*" Here one of two meanings may be understood ; either some such word as *yali* (it is) may have been omitted or possibly some word meaning way, direction, path, etc. : it went the way or in the direction of Buzinza. My Native narrator favoured the former reading : It went ; it was from Buzinza.

General note on the prefixes *wa-* and *li-*. The somewhat subtle use of these prefixes will not have escaped the reader. *Wa-* is an honorific prefix. With important persons like the Hare it is generally taken for granted, though there are exceptions. The elephant and the lion are also generally favoured. But it is interesting to note that the Ingeramaguta only becomes Wangeramaguta when he comes along in time to save the child. When in the trap he is merely Ingeramaguta.

Li- is a prefix indicating pity and contempt.¹³ Brer Rabbit applies it to the crocodile when he has deceived him. When the crow is put on guard at the ant-heap he is plain "*Nya-munkoro*." When however he has had sand thrown up into his eyes, he becomes *Linyamunkoro*. In this connection, *Nya-* is a frequent prefix for names of persons.¹⁴ It corresponds more or less to Mr. or Esq. as *mwinyi-* on the coast. *Mwinyipembe*, etc. It is of course inseparable.

The noun-classes into which the persons of the stories are placed: The reader will have noticed that the Bakwaya are by no means consistent in the classification of the persons figuring in the stories. Generally, when the prefix used is *wa* the animal in question is treated as a member of the first class, but there are exceptions, e.g., *Wakatuju yaliga ekaye*.

The ninth and tenth classes are frequently used to denote the animal heroes of the stories and when Brer Rabbit is referred to as *akatuju* the thirteenth concord is the rule.

When the prefix used is *li-* the concord followed is the sixth: *Linyamunkoro ndilila*, and also "*Nalitamyia limatwi masibe*."

¹³ A relic of the Depreciation Class. See Werner, *Bantu Languages*, pp. 66, 67.

¹⁴ Usually, being a contraction of the word for "mother," it is feminine, with a corresponding masculine *Se-*, *She-* or *Sho-* (cf. here, *ese- Mwene* "father.") It would be interesting to know if the crow is thought of as a female.

C. KIKWAYA-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

(To be used with the stories)

-A	of
akasani	dim. of <i>omusani</i>
akamula	dim. of <i>omumula</i>
-ako	his, her. But see grammar, the possessive pronoun.
-ala (<i>gingaro</i>)	to spread out the palms of the hands in supplication.
alya (<i>halya, elya</i>)	demonstrative pronoun, 16th concord, used also to indicate "some little distance away."
amanji	water
-ana	to give
-ani	poss. pronoun : my, mine
-anikira	to spread out
anu	when (conj.), if
-ao	poss. pronoun : thy, thine
ati	thus
-aye	poss. pronoun : his, her (see grammar)
-ayika	to speak, to say
-Bandirisya	to crush
-bara	to count
-beha	to tell a lie
-bina	to dance
-birima	to run
-bisi	uncooked, unripe, green (of firewood)
bitaro	see <i>ekitaro</i>
-bora	to rot
-buma	to hit, to beat
-bura	(1) to be lost, to be lacking ; (2) to accuse
-busya	(1) to lose ; (2) to ask
busangura	see <i>obusangura</i>
-butula	to cut off, away
bwangu	quickly
-bwila	to tell.
<i>Ekigeso</i>	a knife
<i>ekiguru</i>	an ant-hill
<i>ekimori</i>	a calf

<i>ekinyirira</i>	a patch of dampness
<i>ekisana</i>	a rock-rabbit
<i>ekiswa</i>	an ant-hill
<i>ekitaro</i>	a well
<i>ekiti</i>	a wooden implement
<i>eliobo</i>	a pit
<i>-esa</i>	to throw away
<i>esemwene</i>	his, their father. ¹⁵
<i>esiko</i>	the part of the room used for cooking the food
<i>-e-, ew-,</i>	at (in the expressions "at home," "at my friend's house", etc.) French : <i>chez</i> .
<i>ewasu</i>	at my, our home
<i>eswe</i>	personal pronoun, 1st person plural
<i>-esw</i>	possessive pronoun, our
<i>-Fuma</i>	to revile, to insult
<i>-fwa</i>	to leak, to well forth
<i>-Gamba</i>	to say
<i>-gega</i>	to carry, to take, to take away
<i>-genda</i>	to go
<i>-gesa</i>	to harvest
<i>gingaro</i>	see <i>ingaro</i>
<i>ginjogo</i>	see <i>injego</i>
<i>kinkwi</i>	firewood
<i>-gira</i>	to seek, to go to fetch
<i>-guruka</i>	to fly
<i>-gwa</i>	to fall
<i>-gwata</i>	to hold, to seize, to catch hold of
<i>Hagati</i>	in the middle, dem. pronoun. 16th concord, in between
<i>hanu (enu)</i>	here (this place)
<i>hayo</i>	dem. pronoun 16th concord indicates (a) a place just mentioned, (b) a place not so remote as <i>halya</i> (see <i>alya</i>)
<i>hehi (hei)</i>	near
<i>-hemba</i>	to light
<i>hene</i>	good, truly, well
<i>-hesa</i>	to forge (of blacksmiths), to smelt iron

¹⁵The stem is *ESE*, c.f. Northern Swahili *ishe*, Zulu—*yise*. *Mwene* probably conveys the idea of "own." "My (own) father" is *tata*, q.v.

<i>-higwa</i>	to tire (intrans.)
<i>-hika</i>	to arrive
<i>-hita</i>	to pass
<i>-hongela</i>	to sleep
<i>-hulula</i>	to flow (as of a river)
<i>-hya</i>	to be cooked (done)
<i>Ibara</i>	the bush
<i>-ijunga</i>	to spring, to jump
<i>ika</i>	home
<i>-ika</i>	to descend, to come down
<i>-ikala</i>	to sit, to stay, to inhabit
<i>-ikumanya</i>	to put oneself together (to do to oneself what all the King's horses and all the King's men could not do to Humpty-Dumpty.)
<i>imbura</i>	rain
<i>-imuka</i>	to rise from a recumbent or stooping position
<i>-inama</i>	to stoop
<i>ingaro</i>	palm of the hand (see <i>-ala</i>)
<i>Ingeramaguta</i>	a mythical animal
<i>ingibo</i>	a hide
<i>-ingira</i>	to enter
<i>ingoko</i>	a fowl
<i>ingwena</i>	a crocodile
<i>injego</i>	steps ¹⁶ , a ladder; usually, the plural form is used
<i>injofo</i>	elephant
<i>inkongo</i>	ball of grain used in brewing beer
<i>insenyi</i>	sand
<i>insuka</i>	a hoe
<i>intyanyi</i>	a wild animal
<i>inyama</i>	meat, flesh
<i>inyuma</i>	behind
<i>isambu</i>	farm, plantation
<i>-ita</i>	to kill
<i>-ita kunya</i>	to smack one's lips
<i>-Ja</i>	to come
<i>-jimyajimya</i>	to deceive, to trick

¹⁶ Properly, pegs driven into a tree for climbing up.

<i>Kana</i>	interj. lo ! behold !
<i>kandi</i>	now then, on the other hand, but
<i>kanyiriri (akanyiriri)</i>	a bat
<i>kasiki</i>	sap
<i>kata</i>	altogether, completely
<i>Katuju (a-)</i>	Brer Rabbit
<i>ki ?</i>	what ?
<i>kimwi</i>	lit. card. numeral 1, used in the sense of " then " " now," etc.
<i>kinu (ekinu)</i>	a thing ; 'tali kinu : It does not matter
<i>kironda (ekironda)</i>	a sore
<i>kiumwi-umwi</i>	one by one
<i>-ko</i>	there
<i>-kofya</i>	to collect
<i>-kokya</i>	to roast
<i>-komora</i>	to mock
<i>-kora, kola</i>	to do
„ „ <i>milimo</i>	to work
<i>kumara (okumara)</i>	verb : to finish ; afterwards
<i>kumba</i>	if
<i>kutwi (okutwi)</i>	an ear
<i>kwiti</i>	up, on, to, the tree ; see grammar noun classes
<i>-kya</i>	to dawn, to become daylight
<i>Labe</i>	if, conj.
<i>-lema</i>	to refuse
<i>li-</i>	prefix of pity or contempt
<i>liti</i>	a tree
<i>ligina or igina</i>	a stone
<i>-liha</i>	to pay
<i>-lila</i>	to weep (also of watering eyes)
<i>limwi</i>	see <i>kimwi</i>
<i>-linda</i>	to wait, to watch
<i>-linya</i>	to climb
<i>lisiga</i>	hearth stone
<i>-lola</i>	to look, to see
<i>-lota</i>	(1) to dream ; (2) to inspect
<i>-luana</i>	to fight
<i>-lya</i>	dem. pronoun. that, those
<i>-lya</i>	to eat
<i>Mafwefwe (amafwefwe)</i>	spittle
<i>mai</i>	my mother

<i>-makarakamba</i>	an allusion to the crocodile's scaly spine
<i>-matwi masibe</i>	you with the ears sealed up (a derisive reference to the crocodile's supposed deafness)
<i>mbali</i>	trick, cunning, ruse
<i>mbe !</i>	exclamation : so ! now when !
<i>-menya</i>	to know
<i>m', mu, mo.</i>	in, inside
<i>muheto (omuheto)</i>	snare
<i>mugongo (omugongo)</i>	back
<i>murambo (omurambo)</i>	bank, shore
<i>muka-</i>	the wife of—
<i>Mukuru wa rugongo</i>	a nickname for Brer Rabbit : the King of the bush
<i>munana</i>	card. num. eight
<i>muno</i>	very
<i>murwaye (omurwaye)</i>	sick, a sick person. verb, <i>-rwala</i>
<i>Na, n'</i>	and, with
<i>-ndi</i>	other
<i>ngenangena</i>	to cheat, to deceive
<i>-ngwa</i>	to hear
<i>norwo</i>	even though
<i>nsi</i>	country
<i>ntoto (intoto)</i>	mud
<i>-nya</i>	(<i>inter alia</i>) to lay an egg
<i>Nyamunkoro</i>	the crow
<i>nyira</i>	his, or her mother.
<i>nyoko</i>	your mother (a word frequently avoided)
<i>-nywa</i>	to drink
<i>nzira</i>	way, path
<i>-O</i>	here
<i>obukanja</i>	solid dregs of beer
<i>oburenge</i>	" little feet," a term of pity or contempt
<i>oburo</i>	bulrush millet
<i>obusangura</i>	a type of wild berry
<i>obusani</i>	friendship
<i>obusiba</i>	out to sea
<i>obusima</i>	porridge
<i>obusiti</i>	the end
<i>-a obusiti</i>	the last
<i>obwakwa</i>	beer

<i>obwitundya</i>	a game
<i>okuguru</i>	a leg
<i>olubafu</i>	the side, i.e. the ribs
<i>olubara</i>	the side, i.e. right or left
<i>oluteri</i>	dust
<i>omugasi</i>	a woman, wife
<i>omugesi</i>	a harvester
<i>omugera</i>	a river
<i>omuhesi</i>	a blacksmith
<i>omukaruka</i>	an old man, an elder
<i>omumula</i>	a youth
<i>omulefi</i>	a herdman
<i>omunu</i>	a man
<i>omurume</i>	male, husband
<i>omusani</i>	a friend
<i>omusubi</i>	member of a wedding party
<i>omutwe</i>	the head
<i>omutego</i>	a trap
<i>omwana</i>	a child
<i>omuhara</i>	daughter
<i>omwejo</i>	the next day
<i>omuyaga</i>	wind
<i>-one</i>	all
<i>ori orianu (ori-hanu)</i>	now, immediately
<i>omwenga</i>	bride
<i>orugera</i>	needle
<i>owejabo</i>	his, their companion
<i>-Ragisya</i>	to call from a distance to a person
<i>-robora</i>	to stare intently, to make one's eyes pop out
<i>-rosya</i>	to make, to prepare
<i>-Saba</i>	to beg, to beseech
<i>-sabura</i>	to dish up, to serve up
<i>-sanuka</i>	to jump
<i>-sasikanya</i>	to mix
<i>-senya</i>	to gather
<i>-sibura</i>	to untie, let loose
<i>-siga</i>	to leave
<i>-simba</i>	to dig
<i>-singilila</i>	to follow
<i>-singisya</i>	to shake

-soka	to go or come from or out of.
-soma	to stick a sharp instrument into anything, to stab
-suba	(1) to return (intrans.); (2) to marry
-sungusya	to turn, to whirl round (trans.)
-surumura	to untie, to let loose
-sya	to grind corn into flour
syabara	to embark
-Taja	to trample
-tambari	little, small
-tamyā	to make a fool of
-tamutamū	foolish
-tangata	to precede, to go, to do first (as auxiliary, followed by the subj.)
-tanya	to decide between litigants, to judge
-tarana (obusani)	to make friends
-tarira	to let go of, to release
tata	my (our) father
-tega	to trap, to set a trap
-teka	to cook
-tema	to cut
-tengera	to be on the look out for
-tesya	to deprive, to take away from
-toga	to think
-tubira	to sink
-tumuka	to burst
-tuna	to seek, to want
-tuma	to send a person on an errand
-Uga	to swim
uri !	no ! not so ! etc.
Wa-	honorific prefix
-wa	to finish, (intrans.) to come to and end.

KORANA NAMES OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS

Collected by DR. LUCY LLOYD

Edited by L. F. MAINGARD,
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History of the Mss.

Dr. L. C. Lloyd, the constant helper of that great philologist, Dr. W. H. J. Bleek, continued, after his death, the Bushman work so successfully initiated by him. Dr. Lloyd has herself told the story of how she came to record the present material in Korana—a language in which she was not primarily interested—in her *Short Account of further Bushman Material* (1889). It was the result of a mistake. *Hañ* \neq *kass'o*, one of her Bushman informants, had been left alone at Mowbray by the death of his wife and some companions of his own race were wanted for him. “A family of Hottentots arrived at Mowbray, on the 24th of January 1879, instead of the Bushman family we had desired to obtain. As these Natives reached us in poor condition, and had lost one child on the journey down, it was not possible to return them at once, in order to obtain the Bushman family in their stead; and later, the health of the mother rendered a further delay needful. They were, finally, on the 13th of January 1889, sent up to Kimberley; and of their safe arrival and finding employment, Mr. Innes, C.M.G., was so good as to write us word. From the father, Piet Lynx, a Korana Hottentot from the neighbourhood of Mamusa, some additions to the small amount as yet accessible in Koranna Hottentot were taken down, as well as a few pieces of Native literature.” (op. cit. p. 4). This happy mistake on the part of the Kimberley authorities is responsible for four note-books, three containing the notes of Dr. Lucy Lloyd and a fourth those of her younger sister, Miss Isabella Lloyd.

We are further indebted to another member of the Bleek family, Miss D. Bleek, Hon. Reader in Bushman Language in the University of Cape Town, and herself no mean expert in things Bushman. It is her generosity in presenting me with these four Korana note-books, with the permission to publish, which is responsible for the present contribution to our further knowledge of Korana.

Method of collecting and editing

This first instalment from the note-books contains, as the title announces, names of animals and plants. A word of explanation is here necessary as to the share of the collector and of the editor respectively in the work.

First, as to the method of Dr. Lloyd. She took Piet Lynx to the South African Museum so that he could name the animals from the actual specimens. On p. 95, second note-book, there is this entry: "Piet Lynx, Museum, Cape Town, 6 Sept. '79." From p. 95 to p. 98 and on pp. 115-121, follow the names of animals in rough pencil notes which must have been rapidly taken as Piet uttered the Korana words. In most cases only the scientific names are attached, derived obviously from the Museum labels. This was the best method of insuring the possibility of accurate identification, for unfortunately, most collectors of such names have usually to be content with mere oral translations or a rough-and-ready method of field identification. The names collected by Dr. Lloyd derive their value from this more concrete and realistic method, which had already been used by Dr. Bleek. Nor is this their only merit. Now that the Korana no longer live the life of their ancestors in a country formerly teeming with game and all manner of animal life, their veld-lore is much more restricted and it has now become almost impossible to get the names of a great number of the forms of animal and plant life recorded by Dr. Lloyd.

All the names of animals were not obtained in the manner described above. The more common and the larger types have their names scattered in the first and second note-books. The names of plants seem to have been got by showing the actual botanical specimens to the informant as can be realised from some of the note-book entries which are reproduced in the "Plant" section further on.

Now, a word as to the editor's share. In the first place, the Korana names here listed had to be collected and redistributed into the sections which appear below, viz. (i) Mammals, (ii) Birds, (iii) Reptiles, (iv) Insects, (v) Plants and (vi) Miscellaneous, and again rearranged within each section in their alphabetical order. It is hoped that by this system of classification consultation of the lists will be rendered easier.

In the second place, the scientific names attached to the Korana words when given alone,—that is the case in the great majority of instances—had to be identified and translated into their "vulgar" or common equivalents. In each case a reference is given to the authority

whereby the identification is made possible. It has, however, been thought unnecessary to append scientific names where the common name has been noted by the collector. These references and further notes by the editor are enclosed within square brackets.

There are in the note-books interspersed among the Korana names a few Bushman words given by *Han ≠kass'o* and by two young boys *!nanni* and *Tamme* who belonged to the *!Kun* tribe and whose period of residence at Mowbray partially coincided with that of the Korana family there (Cp, *Report* already quoted, p. 4). As most of these words figure in Miss D. Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, it would serve no useful purpose to include them here again.

Orthography

The phonetic system devised by Dr. W. H. J. Bleek for the transcription of Bushmen sounds and adopted both by him and Dr. L. Lloyd in their *Specimens of Bushman Folk Lore*, 1911, is the same as the one used in the Korana text of the note-books. It is fairly fully explained in this work (pp. viii-ix). For the elucidation of a few further points not made clear there, I am greatly indebted to Miss D. Bleek.

It would have been preferable to reproduce the spelling of the note-books in its integrity, but the multiplicity and complication of the diacritical signs would create too many typographical difficulties. A simpler orthography has had therefore to be adopted here. In the main, I have followed the system used by Miss D. Bleek in her transcription of her father's and her aunt's Bushman material (*Bantu Studies*, v. pp. 167, ff ; etc.)

One or two of the simplifications I have introduced should be noted here. The "strong croaking sound in the throat" and the "gentle croaking sound" rendered by two distinct and unusual symbols in the *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* (loc. cit.) and in the note-books, I have transcribed by *kx'*, the ejective velar fricative, a sound-complex which I heard from my Bloemhof informants, and it must be remembered that we are dealing with the same dialect of Korana, since Piet Lynx belonged to the same tribe as the Bloemhof people. I believe, speaking for Korana alone, that these "croaking sounds" are one and the same, only pronounced with a greater or lesser degree of vigour, to judge from the speech of the Bloemhof Korana.

The same symbols used by Dr. Lloyd after clicks, I have transcribed by click + *k*. Though this is a departure from Miss D. Bleek's trans-

cription, she concurs with me in this respect. My transcription is, in this instance, based on the fact that the Bloemhof speakers did not in one single case use *kx'* in combination with clicks (*Bantu Studies*, vi. p. 150) and on the hesitations which appear in the note-books in this respect.

Double consonants or consonants with an acute accent, I have transcribed by the corresponding single consonant, as these are merely devices for indicating a more vigorous pronunciation of the consonant.

A colon (:) after a vowel signifies that the vowel is long.

A dash above the line, e.g. ⁻ indicates the high tone of the following syllable.

A dash below the line, e.g. ₋ indicates the low tone of the following syllable.

The acute accent occurs very frequently over vowels. According to information from Miss D. Bleek, they indicate stress in the Bushman texts. They are very complicated in the Korana texts and I do not think that I have solved all the problems connected with them; and further, seeing that they involve serious typographical difficulties, I have not indicated them here.

I. MAMMALS

[The names taken from Museum specimens are on pp. 95-98; 117. A neat copy of twenty names is on pp. 123-125. The rest of the names is scattered in the first note-book].

References:

- (i) Sclater, W. L. The Fauna of S. Africa, Mammals. 2 Vols. (1900-1901), quoted as Scl.
- (ii) Layard, E. L. Catalogue of the Specimens in the Collection of the South African Museum (1861-1862), quoted as Lay.

<i>arii</i> , <i>arina</i>	dog. [The <i>-i</i> form is the masc. com. sing; the <i>-na</i> is the plural].
<i>dou:</i> , <i>doup</i>	a smaller kind of quagga, said to be called <i>dou</i> by the farmer. <i>Asinus quagga</i> . [or in the modern nomenclature <i>Equus quagga</i> , Scl. I. 294].
<i>gomai</i> , <i>gomap</i>	ox. [See under <i>arii</i> , <i>arina</i>].
<i>goup</i> , <i>gaup</i>	hartebeest. [See under <i>≠nu goup</i> and <i>!noa goup</i>].

<i>gui</i>	sheep. [The masculine form is <i>gub</i>].
<i>gyāp</i>	rheebok.
<i>parap</i>	palla.
<i>xamma</i>	lion.
<i>xarap</i>	meercat, <i>Ryzaena surakatta</i> [Scl. I. 77, <i>Suricata tetradactyla</i>].
<i>xeip</i>	koodoo.
<i>xoasaub</i>	leopard, "tier"; This is, Piet says, the real "tier" and has a white end to its tail, and is longer [p. 95 rev.]
<i>/ganās</i>	hare, of the flats. [See under <i>/genās</i>].
<i>/garos</i>	<i>Cephalopus ptoox</i> . [Scl. I 157. <i>C. grimmi</i> ; Lay. 71. "duiker".] This is called in Piet's country, he says, a "Flat-Duiker." [See <i>/ui/garos</i>].
<i>/genās</i>	<i>Lepus crassicaudatus</i> . [Scl. II. 96; "roode haas, klip haas," "red hare."]
<i>/gip</i>	<i>Proteles cristatus</i> . [Scl. I. 80. "aardwolf," "maanhaarjakhals."]
<i>/haurr /e:p</i>	<i>Ichneumon</i> . [Scl. I. 61. <i>Herpestes caffer</i> ; Lay. 33. <i>H. ichneumon</i> ; "muishond."]
<i>/hi-sep</i>	<i>Cynictis ogilbyi</i> . [Scl. I. 74. <i>C. pencillata</i> ; Lay. 34; "geel" or "rooi meerkat"].
<i>/hirsep</i>	<i>Mellivora ratel</i> . [Scl. I. 110. "ratel"].
<i>/hōāp</i>	<i>Felis caligata</i> , cat. [Scl. I. 42. <i>Felis caffra</i> ; "wilde" or "grauw kat"].
<i>/hukas</i>	hyaena.
<i>-/kais,</i>	<i>Oryx gazella</i> , Longhorned gemsbok. [Scl. I. 225; Lay. 76; "gemsbok"].
<i>/kaus</i>	Cape buffalo.
<i>/keyap</i>	jackal.
<i>/ke: ≠nāp</i>	<i>Xerus setosus</i> , "waaistert." [Scl. 11. 4. <i>X. capensis</i> ; Lay. 47; "meerkat"].
<i>/kire:p</i>	common jackal.
<i>/nirap</i>	baboon; dog-faced baboon.
<i>/ui /garop</i>	Klipspringer. Piet says that they call the Klip-Springer the "Berg-Duiker." [See under <i>/garos</i> .]
<i> a:p</i>	<i>Otocyon lalandii</i> . [Scl. I. 99. <i>O. megalotis</i> ; Lay. 31; "Cape fennec"].
<i> gop</i>	bull.
<i> karo:p</i>	<i>Genetta felina</i> . [Scl. I. 55. "Small spotted Gennet," "Musk kat."]

-//khaup	mouse (striped).
-//khûp	springbok.
//kwe ˈrep	monkey, ape.
//nã: ˈkx'op	wild pig.
//xai sin	klipbok.
//xauras	ewe lamb.
//xu //khous	striped mouse, "doornboom muis." [See under -//khaup].
≠go:p	springhaas.
≠goxum	anteater.
≠ha ˈba:p	gemsbok, bastard.
≠hira:s	hyaena. [See under ≠nu ≠hiras].
≠hoas	Lepus saxatilis. [Scl. II. 95; "rock hare," "kolhaas": The usual Korana word is /ðas].
≠ka ≠kap	great waterbuck.
≠naba:p	"mountain hare."
≠nu gaop	black wildebeest.
≠nu ≠hiras	Strand wolf.
≠xanna map	bull. [The <i>nn</i> stands here for <i>r</i> , ≠xara meaning the male genital organ and <i>map</i> being shortened from <i>gomap</i>].
≠xoa:p	elephant.
!amap	silverbacked jackal, draaijakkhal.
!a-ris	Calotragus melanotis, grysbok. [Scl. I. 176; Lay. 70. "grysbok"].
!gauup	Lycan venaticus, hunting dog. [Scl. I. 103. L. pictus, "wilde hond"].
!ha:p	lynx.
!kara ˈxap	Ictonyx zorilla, muishond. [Scl. I. 112-113].
!kaururup	Felis pardus, leopard; [Scl. I. 34; "tiger"].
!kãũs	Hyrax capensis, "dassie." [Scl. I. 310. Procavia c.; Lay 61].
-!khup kx'op	reedbuck.
!khuruxup	hunting leopard.
!kõas	hare.
!kwires	zebra; "quagga." [Scl. I. 294. Equus quagga; Lay. 62: "wilde paard"].
!kuri /nu !kwerep	"Esel quagga."
!naba:s	rhinoceros.
!na perip	Damalis pygarga, blesbok. [Scl. I. 137; Lay. 77. "bontebok." The "blesbok" is Damaliscus albifrons, cp. Scl. I. 141].

<i>!neip, !ndip</i>	giraffe.
<i>!noa gaop</i>	brindled gnu, "blue wildebeest."
<i>!nōas</i>	<i>Histryx cristata</i> , porcupine. [Scl. II. 89. H. <i>africae-australis</i> ; Lay. 55].
<i>!xai //khous</i>	"nacht muis."
<i>!xana</i>	eland.
<i>!xaus</i>	hippopotamus.

II. BIRDS

[The names from the Museum specimens are on pp. 118-121. Very few only have the common name. One or two others were recovered on other pages of the note-books].

References :

- (i) Stark, A. C. The Birds of South Africa, 4 Vols, (1900-1906), quoted as Stk.
- (ii) Layard, E. L. Birds of South Africa, (1867), quoted as Lay.
- (iii) idem, revised by Sharpe (1884).
- (iv) Burchell, W. Travels into the Interior of South Africa. 2 Vols. (1822-1824), quoted as Bchl.
- (v) Smith, A. Illustrations of South African Zoology. Aves. (1849) quoted as Smith.

<i>gã:s</i>	<i>Anas montana</i> . [Not identified; <i>gã:s</i> is derived from the Dutch gans, "goose."]
<i>gora:p</i>	<i>Corvus scapularis</i> . [Stk. I. 12, C. <i>scapulatus</i> ; "pied crow," "bonte kraai."]
<i>harr //ka //kap</i>	<i>Otis afra</i> , Korhaan brandkop. [Stk. IV. 292; "black knorhaan."]
<i>hhu (?)</i>	<i>Eupodotis kori</i> , great paauw. [Stk. IV. 308, <i>Otis kori</i> ; "gom paauw."]
<i>-khei /hōaga-os</i>	<i>Campicola pileata</i> . [Not identified].
<i>-khei kx'anip</i>	<i>Vultur auricularis</i> . [Stk. III. 389. <i>Otogyps auricularis</i> ; Bchl. I. 377, 501; "black vulture?" "zwarte aasvogel"].
<i>kx'o kx'o kx'aop</i>	<i>Vultur kolbii</i> . [Stk. III. 383, <i>Gyps kolbii</i> ; "aasvogel"].
<i>tēs</i>	<i>Pogonias niger</i> . [Bchl. I. 318, 327: "a noisy little Barbet," "Hout-kapper"].
<i>/amip</i>	ostrich.
<i>/haima !norop</i>	<i>Balearica regulorum</i> . [Stk. IV. 284; "mahem," "crowned crane"].
<i>-/ke /nus</i>	<i>Numida meleagris</i> . [Stk. IV. 227, <i>N. coronata</i> ; "tarentaal," "guinea fowl"].

/oup	<i>Haliaetus vocifer</i> . [Stk. III. 310; "groote vischvanger," "sea eagle"].
//ham xo-rap	<i>Corvus segetum</i> . [Stk. I. 14, <i>C. capensis</i> ; Lay. 163: "black crow," "korenland kraai"].
//kunumu:s	sparrow.
≠a kx'anîp	<i>Euplectes oryx</i> . [Stk. I. 126, <i>Pyromelana oryx</i> ; "red bishop bird," "Kafir fink"].
≠humu kx'anîp	sprinkhaan vogel.
≠ka ka kas	<i>Otis nuba</i> . [Not identified, a kind of bustard].
≠ka !haris	<i>Francolinus levaillanti</i> . [Stk. IV. 203, "red wing"].
≠kao kx'anîp	Secretary bird.
≠naba kx'anis	<i>Fringillaria vittata</i> . [Stk. I. 187; <i>F. capensis</i> ; Lay 207; "Cape bunting," "streepkop mossie"].
≠na -ras	South African shoveller. [Stk. IV. 145, <i>spatula capensis</i> ; "slop"].
≠un kip	<i>Drymoica affinis</i> . [Smith. II. Plate 77, fig I.]
!hanumu !noap	krañs vogel, blue crane (?).
!haris	<i>Francolinus nudicollis</i> . [Stk. IV. 214, <i>Pternistes n.</i> ; Lay. 268. "red-necked pheasant"].
-!hûhûs	owl. [More properly <i>-!hû!hûs</i>].
-!ko-!kos	<i>Ipagrus brucei</i> . [Stk. III. 131, <i>Campothera smithi</i> ; "Smith's woodpecker"].
!nubo -kx'am	<i>Corvus albicollis</i> . [Stk. I. 10, <i>Corvultur a.</i> ; Lay. 167; rinkhals," "white-necked raven"].
!xan !hwere:p	<i>Telephonus bicbakiri</i> . [Stk. II. 33, <i>Laniarius gutturalis</i> ; Lay. 161; "backabiri," "backabiri shrike"].

III. REPTILES.

[The *Chelonia* are named according to Museum specimens on p. 121 of the note-book. The names of snakes and the lizards are scattered through the note-books].

References: There is no comprehensive work for this section as there are for the preceding two. A. Smith's *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*, Vol. III, *Reptilia* (1849) is useful. The snakes and reptiles mentioned in the note-books are always given with their common names.

(a) Testudinidae

/hurus	<i>Testudo geometrica</i> .
//gabus	<i>Chersina angulata</i> .

//kam /hurus	Pelomedusa subafra, turtle.
~!nas	Testudo pardalis.

[These Testudinidae are listed in Smith's Illustrations, Appendix to Plate I as follows: Testudo pardalis; Testudo geometrica Lin.; Pelomedusa galeata, Wagler, "inhabits lakes, marshes and rivers;" Chersina angulata, Gray; Testudo angulata, Schweig].

(b) Lizards

namita mūs	lizard, common gecko.
/gibi-rip	lizard, hakedis, Euprepes carinatus.
//xuru tsi //ku he:p	chameleon.
!karo xop	lizard.

(c) Snakes

/koup	snake.
/kum /kaus	boa constrictor.
!kãũ !keip	rock-snake.
!kheip	puffadder.

IV. INSECTS.

[The names from the Museum specimens are scattered on pp. 95, 96, 101 rev., 105, 108, 110, 112 rev., 113, 114, 116, 117. A few others were collected elsewhere].

References: Here again there is a lack of general works as for sections I and II. A short serviceable survey is that published by Dr. Peringuey, A [Brief Sketch of South African Insect Fauna in *Science in South Africa*, (1905), pp. 152-164. A standard work on South African Butterflies is that of Trimen.

biri ≠kana	Larvae of glowworm beetle (Lampyrus sp.).
ha /ga~nãp	Hippobosca. [See /ganãp].
to ~ap	a small (crawling) thing.
~tu ≠konip	Scolopendra ("black centipede.") [See ≠konip].
uip	bee.
u~i //nabo:p	Death's head Moth. [See //nabo:p].
/ga~nãp	Tsetse fly. [The common housefly is also /ganap. The tsetse would probably have been just a "fly" to the informant].
/gum ≠konip	Chrysalis of Acraea Horta. [See ≠konip].

/hai mi !ã /hũis	A Carabid beetle (genus <i>Brachinus</i> . The little thing with a yellow head. [A literal translation of the name].
-/hu:s	scorpion.
/nu-i !xam	Spider (house egg bug).
/u: nabo:s	Aloa amasis (one of the <i>Arctiadae</i> or Tiger Moths).
gãũnãp	Spook mantis.
kam ≠xori:p	common Cape dragonfly.
ou ≠konip	"worm wanted by Mr. Trimen." [See "References" above]. <i>Peripatus capensis</i> , Grube. [for the history of this very interesting insect, see <i>Science in South Africa</i> , pp. 180-181].
≠hums	locust.
≠kau nabo:s	<i>Mylabris</i> .
≠konip	Caterpillar of <i>Acraea Horta</i> , common South African butterfly. [See /gum ≠konip.]
≠xuri be:p	butterfly (a kind of).
-!a nabo:s	butterfly.
!habu /ganãp	<i>Syntomis cerbera</i> (a Moth).
!hũtsi !hũ be:p	Caterpillar of nocturnal moth unknown to Piet.
!kama be:p	a sort of <i>Haltica</i> (small green beetle).
!koes	voetganger, young locust.

V. PLANTS.

[The list of plants is short, but its interest lies in the fact that some of the usages and superstitions of the people in connection with them are recorded here. These plant names are to be found on pp. 109-114 and p. 122].

References :

- (i) Marloth, R. *The Flora of South Africa*, (1916-1932) 4 Vols, quoted as Mar.
- (ii) Burchell, W. as above.

ari ≠eip	"Hunds (sic) Foot," <i>Mesembryanthemum edule</i> , Linn. Yellow large iceplant flower (from Kalk Bay). [Mar. I. 203-204 and Plate 50. A. The fruits are edible and are known under the name of "Hottentot figs" or "Zuurvygen"; Brchl. I. 54. It produces. . . a fruit of the size of a small fig, of a very pleasant acid taste, when perfectly ripe].
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- bi haip* *Viscum capense* Thunb. Said when eaten by cattle and goats to give much milk. Green plant with green projections (buds) on the branchlets and, in Piet's country, no leaves. [Mar. I. 167 ff. and Plate 38, C. "mistletoe or mistl. Vogelent," leafless twigs and white flowers; Brchl. I. 143 and 147. "Cape mistletoe."]
- /gomĩ:, /gumi* *Cenia turbinata* Pers. yellow daisy with very full centre and a few short yellow petals around it. Where the */gomĩ* is, the sheep are allowed to feed. [Mar. III. ii. 163. and Plate 43. A. 3].
- //gabi:p* large purple flowering ice plant. *Mesembryanthemum* sp. Plentiful in Piet's land; the roots are, he says, eaten by porcupines. They (the roots) are large. Piet has never, he says, seen the hare eat them; the hare being "fine" in its food, and eating young grass.
- //ku:p* *Ixia maculata* Linn. Yellowish-red flower bulb. [Mar. IV. 145. and Plate 42. D. Called "klossies also "glossies," probably derived from "klo-kjes," little bells].
- //u:p* a plant with bulbous roots, striped leaves and red flowers. *Gladiolus alatus* Linn. *//u //hare:p*, flower of the *Gladiolus alatus*, the flower of which has the same shape, but less yellow colour in Piet's country. [Mar. IV. 155. and Plate 47. B. "Kalkoentje"].
- !go !gop* Reddish orange star-shaped flower. *Homeria collina* Vent. [Mar. IV. 141. and Plate 40. E].
- !houtsamap* *Lycium* sp. Thorny bush with red berries. Hardebosch. [Mar. III. I. 119. and Plate 32, D. *Lycium tetrandrum*; Plate 33, *Lycium horridum*. Thorny hedge, frequent in the neighbourhood of the sea].
- !humurup* a small plant with a root which is used for food. Its flower is right down in the angle of the leaves; it is white.
- !kõa /xabep* A small sour weed.
- !kwire //gabi:p* Large yellow flowering ice plant. *Mesembryanthemum glaucum* Linn. When the flower

buds become large, then it is time to hunt the quaggas, Piet says.

*!Kwire //gabi:p na tswatswa //keip !na:; i ke nũ
!kwire //garu //ka:; i //na //keip !na: kei hũ
kx'ēiku i. I su^ubu sa //garu^u i.*

[Translation :]

When the quagga-boom begins, then we go to hunt quaggas. At this time are all their livers large. It is in this time that we hunt easily.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

[There is in the note-books a number of terms relating to (i) noises made by animals, p. 21, (ii) parts of the animal body, p. 23, and (iii) parts of plants, pp. 106-107, which, so far as I know, have not yet appeared in print. I have for this reason thought that they might well be included as a concluding section to this lexicographical study].

(i) Noises of animals

<i>/hou na xammi</i>	the lion roars.
<i>//hoa na arip</i>	the dog howls.
<i>//hoa na /ki^u-rep</i>	the jackal howls.
<i>-//khu</i>	to bark.
<i>!gumm na /amip</i>	the ostrich calls. [More properly "booms."]

(ii) Parts of the animal body

<i>gu /ũ:p</i>	sheep's hair, wool. [<i>/ũ:p</i> means "hair"].
<i>piri /ũ:p</i>	goat's hair.
<i>≠are /hãp</i>	tail horse hair.
<i>≠a:p, !ami</i>	quill.
<i>!no^u-ãp di !amkoa</i>	Porcupine's quills.
<i>~sau !amkoa</i>	the tail quills.
<i>!noro /haiep</i>	the long quills at the back of the porcupine's neck.

(iii) Parts of plants

<i>tfwã:p</i>	stem (of a bulb).
<i>//harekoa</i>	flowers.
<i>//hare tfwã:p</i>	short stem (of flowret of bulb).

-//nãũkoa	leaves (of a bulb).
-//nãũp	leaflet (at the bottom of stem of flowret).
-≠ũp	a wild bulb (used for food).
!noma ku	fibrous roots (of bulb).
-khop	peel (of orange).
≠kara:p	pip (of orange).
≠kara //nuip	kernel (of pip).
≠karap ~kho:p	outer skin of pip.
//nui ≠nama	inner skin of pip.

CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF THE XAM BUSHMEN

From material collected by

Dr. W. H. I. BLEEK and Miss L. C. LLOYD between 1870 and 1880

Edited by D. F. BLEEK

Part IV. OMENS, WIND-MAKING, CLOUDS

Sneezing.

Dictated by *||khabbo*, a Bushman from the Strontbergen, whose son-in-law, *||han≠kass^o*, had left with other Bushmen for their country to find their women-folk.

||han≠i: ti e: ||han≠kass^o ||na: !kwoba-aŋ, ||han≠i: ti e: ||han≠kass^o ||na: Swoba-||ken. ||han≠i: ti e: !kwoba-aŋ !kwi: ||kē:; ||han≠i: ti e: Swoba-||ken !kwi: ||kē:; ||han≠i: ti e: ||gōō-ka-!kwi !kwi: ||kē:; ||han toto: Kerru au ||kē. ||han toto: Kerru, "||khabbowakən ||na tí dé?" Kerruwakən ≠kaka ha, "ó: ä kaŋ ||ná ha-ka gau-k"au." Ha xóäkən toto: ha, ||han ≠kaka ha xóä, "||ha kaŋ hā: ||na ha-ka gau-k"au."

I think that *||han≠kass^o* has seen *!kwoba-aŋ*, (*||khabbo*'s wife), and has seen *Swoba-||ken*. I think that *!kwoba-aŋ* calls my name; I think that *Swoba-||ken* calls my name; I think that *||gōō-ka-!kwi* (*||khabbo*'s son) calls my name, he asks *Kerru* about me. He asks *Kerru*, "Where is *||khabbo*?" *Kerru* answers, "(Your) father is with his master." His (the son's) mother asks him, he says to his mother, "(Your) husband has stayed with his master."

||kwē:- da, ||han≠i: ||han≠i: ti e: ||han≠kass^o ||na: Swoba-||ken; ||han≠i: ti e: Swoba-||ken !kwi: ||kē, ta: ||kamma. ||han≠i: ti e: ||ha !kwi: ||kē, ta: ||kamma. ||han≠i: ti e: ||pwoŋ !kwi: ||kē, ||han≠i: ti e: m ||pwoxai !kwi:

This is what I think, I believe that *||han≠kass^o* has seen *Swoba-||ken*; I think that she has called my name, because I sneeze. I think that my wife calls my name, because I sneeze. I think that my son calls my name, I think that

η |kē, η |kwē:-da, η ≠i:, ta η |kamma.

η ≠i:, ti e: m ɔpɔwaxai |ha ≠ka-ka m ɔpɔwaxai, ti e:, "Óä-ka burke tan é: a, ha-ka' gau-k"aukən a: á ha, ä:, ha-ka gau-k"aukən |ne ≠ka-ka ha, ti e:, ha si akke: hi." η |kwē:-da, η ≠i:. Ha xóäkən toto: ha, "Óä-ka burke xa |ke: á?" Ha ɔpɔwaxai |hay ≠kaka ha, "|ha-ka burke tay e: a, he ha a akka hi." η |kwē:-da, η ≠i:, ta η |kamma.

η |hay toto: ha, "ɔpɔwai |hi-ta burke xa |ke: a?" Hay ≠kaka ha ɔpɔwaitente, "|ha kay óä ka, η siη sá ≠kaka ha, η si ||e ha, ta: ha ||óä:kən ||na ha-ka gau-k"au; η |kwē:-da, η ≠i:, hay óä ≠kaka ke, ti e: ha ɔpɔwəη hā: si -||óä:kən ||na hī η-η, si si ||é ha." η |kwē:-da, η ≠i:, ta: η |kamma.

my daughter calls my name, I think so, because I sneeze.

I think that my daughter's husband says to my daughter: "These are father's trowsers which his master gave him telling him to give them to me." That is what I think. Her mother asks, "Are those father's trowsers?" Her daughter's husband says to her, "They are (your) husband's trowsers which he gave me." I think so, because I sneeze.

My wife asks him, "Are those (your) father-in-law's trowsers?" She says to her daughter-in-law, "Husband seems to want me to come and talk to him, for he is staying with his master; I think he is telling me that his son has been staying with me, we will go to him." I think so, for I sneeze.

Dictated by |hay≠kass²o, a Bushman from the Stronthergen.

|khammay-ay é. Ha !kwi-/a a: kay -!kwi: ha |kē, hé e:, ha |ne |khamma, i:. He ti hiη e:, |xam-ka !k'e ta ||nau, hī |khamma, hī -ku, "||khe||khe-we:, ||kā kay a: !xwa -!kwi η |kē, ta: η dśā |ku |khamma ||na."

!kuko: a:, ha -ku, "I ||kenni -||kway dśā |ku |k'e: η, ta:, η k"auki dśā |khamma, ta |khammay a:, siη k"ó:ä, ha |ku-g |ne -!xuonni, η k"auki |ne |khamma |hiη ha."

It is sneezing. That girl has spoken his name, therefore he sneezes. This is what Bushmen do when they sneeze, they say, "O beast-of-prey, our brother must have called my name, for I am sneezing here."

The other answers, "Our brothers seem to be speaking of me, for I do not sneeze, but the sneeze which threatens will not turn aside, I do not sneeze it away."

Dictated by *Díä!kwain*, a Bushman from the Katkop hills.

|khammaŋ € ||k''ó:ākən. Itən
||nau, i |khamma, itən |khamma hō
ōpwai. Ta, mama-gu |ki ≠kaka
si ā:, o !gauē-tukən-ka |khammaŋ,
hē k''auki d: kən, o itən |khamma o
!gauē-tukən.

Ta mama-gu ka ||nau, si: ko: úi,
si-g |ne |khamma, mama-gu |k'e: si,
ti e:, ts²a de |nō a:, si ta |khamma
ā:, o si: !ko: úi? Si ||khóā kaŋ
≠i:, !gauē-tukən-ka |khammaŋ
k''au € !kho:xa:.

O i |khamma o !gauē-tukən, itən
|ne kōaŋ |hiŋ, itən tai !kauxu,
itən k''auki ka, i se |kam !gōē, o i:
|khamma o !gauē-tukən. !nāũŋ
k''auki ta, !nāũ se ú !ahí u i, o
!gauē-tukən-ka |khammaŋ. Ta,
mama-gu |ki ≠kaka si ā:, ti e: si
|khamma ||k''óākən !kau a: si !hən
!khe tiŋ ha:

Mama-gukən ||xam ≠kaka si ā:,
o |khammaŋ. O tšweŋ €: mama-
gu ≠kaka si ā: hē, o ||k'e: a:, si
|xā: ōpwai ā:, haŋ a: mama-gu
|k'e:ja si, ā:, ||khóā kaŋ ≠i:,
|khammaŋ € i hī-ka ts²a. Ta:,
i-g ||nau, i |khamma, o ōpwai-
ja: twi:ja, itən |khamma |kabbakən
hō ōpwai, o i: |khamma |e:ja !kwi
a: |xā: ōpwai ha !nu!nuntu.

ōpwaitən ||nau, ha -to:á: i-ta
|khamma|khamma, ōpwaitən ||xam
|ku dí kúú k''wayk''way ha tu:i i,
o itən |khamma, o !kwi a: |xā: ha,
haŋ |ku a: -tó:ä i-ka |khamma
|khamma; haŋ |ku kaŋ su:kən ú.í.

Sneezing is unfortunate. When
we sneeze we drive the game away.
Our mothers used to tell us that
sneezing in the early morning is
not good, if we sneezed in the
early morning.

If we sneezed when we woke up,
our mothers used to ask us, why
we were sneezing as we woke up?
We seemed to think that sneezing
at daybreak is not a bad omen.

If we sneezed at daybreak and
got up and went to the hunting
ground, we should not get a tor-
toise because of our sneezing
early. The hare would not come
out in front of us because of the
sneezing. For our mothers said
that by sneezing we cursed the
ground over which we were hunt-
ing.

Our mothers also spoke to us
about sneezing. Among the things
they said was this, when we had
shot game, then we must remember
that sneezing effects our thing.
For if we sneezed when game was
wounded, we startled it by our
sneezing, if we sneezed into the
ears of the man who shot the game.

If he heard our sneezing, the
game would also act as if it heard
us sneezing, because the man who
had shot it had heard us sneeze;
it would spring away.

He tikən e:, mama-gu ka siŋ
 ||nau, si: ≠na:, si- |ne |khamma,
 mama-gu |k'e: si, si |ki |e: si |k'a:
 o si tu, si se kwəbbo: |khammaŋ,
 |khammaŋ k''auki se tai; si se
 kwəbbo ||gwi ||khóě ||kho |kham-
 maŋ o si |nūnu, |khammaŋ k''auki
 se tai

I ||nau, i tã:, ti e:, ti taŋ, i sáy
 |khamma, itən !kan ||kau ||kho i
 |k'a: o i |nūnu, i se korokən -|ku:-
 kən |khammaŋ.

Therefore our mothers said that if we forgot and were sneezing, we should put our finger (first of right hand) into our mouth and rub the sneeze away, not letting it come out; we should rub till it vanished from our nostrils without coming out.

If we felt that we were going to sneeze, we should put our hand over our nostrils, we should destroy the sneeze. (The first finger of the right hand is put into the mouth and pulled out against the left cheek, making a noise; the right hand is then put over the nose and mouth and rubbed about a little).

Omens of Death. Dictated by *Diä!kwain*. *

N kaŋ ||nau kaŋ ||na |hũ:, ŋ
 ||khabbo-ā, ti e: si-si ko ta:ta, si
 hā: |ā: |gei. |hũ:n hā: |ne !ke
 sa: si:si, o sitən |ā !gei, he |hũ:-hā:
 |ne |k'e:, ti e:, ha ká ha se !kaitən
 |kha si.

||khabbokən a: |kwē:ī-dakən ≠ka-
 ka ke, he ŋ hā: |k'e:ja |hũ:, ā:,
 |hũ: am k''auki |kha si, ha ī: -a
 si, si tauita ha ā:, o ha k''auki
 |kha si.

Ta-g ŋ k''auki ≠kauwa ha |kha
 ŋ ó:ā, ta: ŋ kaŋ se a: tauitən ŋ
 óā-ka tauitən e: ha siŋ |kha: |gei,
 ī:; ŋ se tauitən ||k'e hī, ŋ-ka
 tauitən, o-g ŋ óā-ka tauitən.

When I was with a farmer I dreamt that my father and I were cutting up a sheep. The farmer came up to us, as we were cutting it up, and said that he intended to beat us to death.

The dream told me that I asked the farmer not to kill us at once, but just to let us work for him for it instead of killing us.

For I did not want him to kill my father, but I wanted to work off what my father owed for the sheep; I would work off what I owed and what my father owed.

He ||khabbo ≠kaka ke, i:; ti e:,
 η _hā: ||k'o'en η óā, o haη |ku:kən
 |ko:|ta:||gu||gu. He η _hā:k'wa:,
 i:, o káη kaη ||k'o'en, ti e: η ó:ā
 óō !kēi. ||ou haη |ku:kən. He-g η
 _hā: kukúi, η |k'e:ja |hū: ā:, Ts²a-
 de |nō a:, |hū: k'wāη ts²a !kerri
 a: si |kha: ha, haη |ne |kwēi |kwāη
 dí:, o ti e:, ha |ku siη se -a si ā:
 _tauitən, o ha k''auki |kwēi |kwē,
 ha dí? η |ne ||khabbo-i, ti e:, |hū:
 _hā: _swaija si-si ko ta:ta, o sitən
 _hā: _|kamməηja !gei-ta eη, o |hū:η
 _hā: _swai |ki !küitən si o |hū:-ka
 ||neiη.

He-g η ||nau, !gauētən ka ha
 !khwai, η _kōāη |hiη, η ≠kaka η
 |ha ā:, ti e: ||khabbo ≠kaka ke, ti
 e: si _hā: |ā: |hū:-ka !gei. η
 ||k'o'en ta:ta, o tatakən |ku:kən
 !khai !khe. η |k'e:ja ha ā:, ti e:,
 ha |kho: kaη ≠i:, si k''au ka si se
 tú kum, o ||khabbo |kwēi küitən
 ≠kaka ke?

He !khwe !kuη-sin, i:; he-g η
 |k'e:ja ha ā:, ti e:, ha |nō k''au
 ||k'o'en, ti e: !gwa:xu |kwēi u, i:,
 tikən ||khóā !khwa: se kãũ, o ||khab-
 bokən ka ha ≠kaka ke ā:, !k²āũ-
 wāη !ahitiη !gwa:xu. He tikən e:,
 η kaη se _tai, η se ||k'e||k'e:ja |hū:
 ā: ||xoro, η se ||k'o'en, ti e:, ts²a-de
 |nō a:, ti |kwēi ||khauwi ā:, o káη
 kaη ||khabbo-ā ta:ta, ti e: |hū: _hā:
 |kha: si. ||khabbokən |ku ≠kakən
 ku:ü |xwāη-a ka:, !kwi a: ≠kaka
 ke. He tikən e:, i kiē: se: !küitən,
 i se ||a tum-ā ||na||na ||neiη, i se
 ||k'o'en, ti e:, i |nō se tu: kum.

He ta:ta tsaxáu -dabba_dabba |ku
 ||nau, η ā: k''auki _tai, hiη |ku dí

And the dream told me that I
 saw my father lying dead in the
 sun's heat. And I cried when I
 saw that my father had really died.
 And I spoke, I asked the farmer,
 Did he think that it was such a big
 thing which we had killed that he
 had acted in this manner, when he
 could have let us work it out and
 not have acted as he did? I dreamt
 that the farmer drove us before
 him, and we carried the sheep's
 body, while the farmer drove us
 back to his house.

Then when day broke I arose
 and told my wife that a dream had
 told me we were cutting up a
 farmer's sheep. I saw father stand-
 ing dead there. I asked her, did
 she not think that we should hear
 news of that which the dream had
 told me?

Then the wind was in the north,
 and I asked her if she did not see
 how the sky looked, it seemed as
 if rain would fall, as the dream
 had shown me, covering the sky.
 Therefore I would go and talk to
 the farmer about an ox, to find out
 what was happening, what had
 made me dream of father, of the
 farmer killing us. The dream
 spoke just as if a person had told
 me. Therefore we will go home,
 we will go and listen at the house
 and see if we do not hear news.

Then father's eye blinked at me
 before I had started, it acted as if

küi k'wǎŋ !khwa: se !kēi //ou, ha kǎũ, !khwa: //ki e: k''auki ≠en, hiŋ |ku ||khóé||khóé; he-g ŋ |k'e:ja ŋ |ha, i: . ŋ küküi, ŋ |k'e:ja ha ā: , “ Akən k''au ||k'o'en, o ŋ siŋ ≠kaka ha, ti e: , ŋ ||khabbo:ī ta:ta, akən k''au ||k'o'en, ti e: , !kwi tsaxáu _dabba_dabba _||kwaŋ e: ā. !kwi a: ||kho: |ku:ka, ha tsaxau _dabba-_dabbakən _||kwaŋ e: ā.

“ *Hē tikən e: , a _||kwaŋ ka, a se _||k'o'en, o !khwa: ||ki e: ā, hē |kwē:ī |kwǎŋ ||kho:e. Ta: , a ||kho: kaŋ ≠i: , ŋ-ka ||khabbo k''au ≠ka: , ŋ ka |nĩ ts²a a: , ||khabbo-ā siŋ ≠kaka ká ha, ŋ ka |nĩ ha. Hē tikən e: , a _||kwaŋ ka, a se |k'o'en, o a k''auki !hum ŋ, o-g ŋ ≠kaka ha ||khabbo, ti e: , ||khabbo |kwē:ī-da: ka: , i: .”*

Sitən |ne !küitən ||neiŋ a: si ||na |hũ: ā: , hē si ||nei||nei o ||ga||ga e !ku: ; hē mama ||nau, o ||ga: ko: , mamaŋ sá: si, i: . He-g ŋ tu:tu: mama o ti e: , ts²a-de |nō a: !khwa:-ka _|kwa:gən |ne |kwēi u, ā: , hē !khwa:-ka _|kwa:gən i-||ahá||ahá: !kuŋ-tiŋ, hē !khwa:-ka _|kwa:gən ||kho, ti e: , !khwa:-ka _|kwa:gən ka kwēi u, i: , o ta:ta ≠kaka: , ti e: , !khwa: se kǎũ.

Hē tikən e: , ŋ -||ki, i: , ti e: , ts²a-de |nō a: , !khwa:-ka _|kwa:gən |ne |kwēi u ā: . !khwetən |ne tʃu küi táŋ-a ku: , ti e: , !khwe ta |kwēi tǎ, i: , o-g ŋ _dóä ||khabbo-ā ta:ta, ti e: |hũ: _hǎ: |kha: si, o si _hǎ: |ā: |hũ-ka !gei, |hũ:ŋ |ne |khi: si o !gei ta k''wa: . ||khabbokən a: |kwēi-dakən ≠kaka ke.

rain were going to fall, rain water in quantities would come down ; so I had told my wife. I spoke saying to her, “ You did not look when I told you that I had been dreaming of father, you did not see that someone’s eye was blinking there. It was the eye blinking of a person who seemed to be dying.

“ Because of that you are going to see rain water which will pour down like this. For you seem to think that my dream was not clear, that I should see the thing which the dream told me I should see. Now you will see, although you would not believe me, when I told you what the dream showed me.”

We returned home to where we lived with the farmer, and we stayed there two nights ; and on the second night mother came to us there. Then I asked her what was happening to the rain clouds that were coming up in front there, the clouds were acting as they used to do when father said that it was going to rain.

Therefore I wondered what was going to happen, when the rain clouds acted like this. The wind blew as if it were begging from me, just as the wind had done, when I was dreaming of father, that the farmer killed us when we cut up this sheep, when the sheep bleated. The dream had told me this.

He m^ama |ne kukuü, haŋ ≠kaka ke, ŋ ǯš šš |ne ≠nwāi ||khabbo, ŋ |ne ǯš šš kaŋ ≠i:, ŋ kaŋ se ||xā:, ŋ |nī ta:ta, ta: ||khabbo -||kwaŋ a: ≠kaka ke, ti e:, ŋ k''auki kaŋ se |nī ta:ta. Ta:, he ti he -||kwaŋ e:, ŋ |nī: mama, i:, o mamaŋ siŋ ka, ha se sá ≠kaka si-si ā:, ti e:, tata -||kwaŋ |ku:kən xu:wa si. He tikən -||kwaŋ, e: si ||k'o'en, ti e:, !khwa: |khu k''auki |hiŋ tóá !gwa:xu, he !khwa: |khu -||kwaŋ |ku ||na !gwa:xu.

He-g ŋ |ne tu-tu: mama, i:, o ti e:, tša-de |nō a: da: ta:ta. He mamaŋ |ne ≠kaka ke, ti e:, ha ||k'o:ë é:, há ka |kwēitən ≠kaka si ā he, he -||kwaŋ é:, ha |ku:kən ta: he.

He mama kukuütən |k'e:ja ke, ŋ ||kho: kaŋ ≠i:, whai k''au |ku ||nau, tata |i||-!ǩö:ä, whaiütən k''auki k''wāŋ whai -||kwaŋ ||k'o'en si, o ||neiŋ; ta: whai |ku !hau, !gwe ta: ||neiŋ, whaiütən k''auki k''wāŋ he !hammī. Mamaŋ k''auki ≠enna, ti e:, whai |hiŋ he, he whai k''auki tymse |k'waija; whaiütən |ku-g ||nau, o whai sa:, whaiütən |ku tauko ||gum, o whai gauwa ||neiŋ a:, ta:ta |ku:kən ta: ha.

"Whaiütən k''wāŋ whai ||kóá:kən !kwā: ||a:, o !khwe tuko a: ťfu !kuŋ-šo:. Há !khwetən a:, whai !ke ||khóá ha. Há ó:ä-ka !khwe tuko -||kwaŋ é, he a -||kwaŋ |ku ||i:, akən ťä:, ti e: !khwe |kwēi ťä, i:. A -||kwaŋ |ku ≠enna, ti e:, óá -||kwaŋ xarra ka siŋ ||nau, ha: |xā: op̌wai, há-ka !khwejä: |kwēi ťä."

And mother said to me, I seemed to have disbelieved the dream and to have thought I should see father again, though the dream had told me that I should not see him again. But now I saw her and she had come to tell us that father had died leaving us. That was why we saw that the rain's hair (the clouds) did not come out of the sky, but stayed in the sky.

Then I asked mother what had happened to father. And mother told me that it was because of his back, about which he had long been complaining to us, that he had died.

And mother said to me, I seemed to think the springbok had not known when father's heart fell, and had not acted as if they saw us at the hut; but the springbok just afterwards had passed opposite the hut as if they were not afraid. She did not know where they came from, and they were not a few; the springbok were playing as they came along approaching the hut where father lay dead.

"The springbok appeared to be moving away and the wind really blew following them. They were running before the wind. It was really father's wind, and you can feel yourself how it is blowing. You know that whenever father used to shoot game, his wind blew like that."

He-g η |ne |k'e:ja mama ā:, i:,
ti e:, η -||kwaŋ tā: !khwe, ti e:,
!khwe |kwēi tā, i:, η -||kwaŋ |ku
≠enna, o-g η tā: !khwe, o |khwa:
||ki e: siŋ tattəntəttən ||kōē siŋ
!kʔāũ. Hiŋ -||kwaŋ e:, η siŋ
||nau, o káŋ kaŋ ||k'oen hē, η |ku
|ne ||kóā:kən |kwēi |kwāŋ tā: !khwe,
o káŋ kaŋ ||k'oen.

η |ne |k'e:ja η |ha ā:, η |ne ku-
kūi, η |k'e:ja ha ā:, ha ||kho: kaŋ
≠i:, η k''au tā: η ||kaiē; hē tsʔi:i:, η
o !khwe a: siŋ dśā tʃu !kʔāũ, η
|ne dśā tā: ti e:, η ||kaiē |ne dśā
tsʔi:i:. Haŋ ||kho: kaŋ ≠i:, η
k''au ka ||nau, η -ka !kwija dśā é:
|ku:ka, η |kwēi |kwē, η ||kaiē taŋ-
taŋ, o η -ka !kwija dśā é.

Then I told mother, that I had
felt the wind, that it was blowing
like that. I had understood, when
I felt the wind, when the rain
water had fallen on the ground.
It was while I was seeing things
that I had really felt the wind, as
I looked.

I had spoken to my wife about
it and asked her whether she
thought I was not feeling my
inside; it was biting (aching), as
the wind was blowing past, I felt
that my inside was biting. She
seemed to think that I did not
feel when one of my people was
dying, my inside always ached
when it was one of my people.

The wind an omen. Dictated by *Dī!kwain*.

Mama-gu ka ||nau, o hē: tóá
!khwcja: k''wa:, hē kukú, hē |k'e:,
"-Aūwi !khwe ≠gou, ta, u ||khóā
kaŋ ≠i:, !kēi a !khwe |kwēi-da
ā:, ta !khwe k''wa: ||ke||ke: ti e:,
!kʔe saŋ |kwēi-da, hē k''wa:, i:, o
!kuko:, o ha: |ku:ka. Ta: !khwe
k''wa: hī, i se ≠en, ti e:, i |ke:
kō: ká ha se |ku:kən. Hē tikən e:,
!khwe k''wa:, i:, o haŋ ta: ||ka ti
e:, i saŋ k''wa:."

Hē tiken e:, mama-gu ka siŋ
||nau, hē: tóá !khwe, hē |ku ku,
"-|ki |haŋ u !khwe, !khwe k''auki
siŋ |kwēi-da; ta:, i ||neiy klē: se
|ki|ki, ti e: k''auki twai-i:. Ta:
hē ti hē e:, !khwe |kwēi-da, i:, o

When our mothers used to hear
the wind cry, they used to say,
"Let the wind be silent, for you
seem to think good will come of it,
but the wind cries as the people
are going to cry when someone
dies. For the wind cries for us,
that we may know that another
friend is dying. Therefore the
wind cries, as it feels that we shall
cry."

Therefore when our mothers
used to hear the wind, they said,
"Make the wind still, (i.e. move
the mat when the wind is blowing
there), that it may not do this; for
our home will suffer misfortune.

haŋ dá hi ā:, ti |kə|kōiŋ se ||na-
||na t-ka ||neiŋ. Ta: !khwe k''wa:,
o ha |kwēi-da."

Mama-gukən |k'e:ja ke, ti e:,
!khwe ||nau, ha !xwāŋ ha k''wa:,
haŋ k''wa: |ki ||kkōē hō ha-ka
k''wak''wa: o !khwe. Tſweŋ e:
_tai_tai xa ta:, hiŋ tú:ī !khwe, o
!khwetən !kōā ||na i ||neiŋ. He
||khetən||khetən k''wāŋ he ≠en, ti
e:, i ||na he, o hiŋ ta: ||ka ti e:,
he tu:ī !khwetən ~!kwi |ki he.

Ta: mama-gu |ki ≠kaka ke, ti
e:, ||khe||khe: ||nau, ha _tai-ā-tiŋ,
haŋ k''auki ||au-se _tai-ā-tiŋ o
!khwe, ta ha _tai-ā-tiŋ hī !khwe.
||k''e: a: !khwe tsu ||wēi ā:, haŋ a:
||khe||khe: _tai-ā-tiŋ ā:, o haŋ ka,
i k''auki siŋ tu:ī tſweŋ e: _tai-ā-
tiŋ, ||khe||khe: se sá |kōā i, o !khwe
||kaiē, o !khweja: tsu ||wēi, i siŋ
!xe: ta: !khwe ā:, o i: tū:, ti e:,
!khwe k''auki ta ||kaitən. Haŋ _tai
|ki sa: o tſweŋ e: !xwāŋ he k''wa:,
he tſweŋjaŋ e: !kwi: ha, hiŋ ≠kaka
||khe||khe: ā:, ti e: i ||na ti e.
He ||khe||khe: |kuu |kam ||a: i, ī:,
haŋ ||aŋ |khi: i, o !khwe a: ≠kaka
ha -ā:, ti e: i ||na he.

He tikən e:, mama-gu ka siŋ
||nau, he tú:ī, ti e:, !khwe k''auki
tymse tſūi, he kukú, he |k'e:, " U
kaŋ ≠i:, _||khā: k''au ka ||nau,
||k'e: a:, ha ká ha se sa, |kōā |hiŋ
i, o opwoin, !khwetən k''auki tymse
tſūi, o haŋ ka, ha se !ke se í, i i:
!hymmī ta: o !khwe, ha se |kōā |hiŋ
i o ||neiŋ, ha se tsi: |kha i."

Mama-gukən ≠kaka ke ti e:,
!khwe ||nau, ≠k'e: a: _||khā: ká

For the wind acts like this when it
is bringing evil to our home. The
wind cries as it does so."

Our mothers told us that when
the wind sounds as if it cries, it is
sending its crying on the wind.
Things which walk about hear the
wind as it sweeps past our hut.
Then the beasts-of-prey seem to
know where we are, for they hear
the wind calling to them.

For our mothers used to tell me,
that when a beast-of-prey walks
about, it does not walk against the
wind, but with the wind. At the
time when the wind blows strong-
ly, then the beast-of-prey walks
about, for it does not want us to
hear anything moving, so that it
may seize us while the wind is
blowing hard, so that we are lying
in shelter because the wind is not
light. It comes up when things
sound as if they were crying, call-
ing to it, telling it that we are here.
Then the beast-of-prey goes to-
wards us, to kill us, because the
wind has told it where we are.

Therefore when our mothers
heard the wind blowing strongly,
they said, " You do not seem to
know that when a lion is coming
to us to snatch us from our sleep,
the wind blows strongly, because
it (the lion) is approaching us as
we lie in fear of the wind, to snatch
us from our hut and bite us to
death."

Our mothers told me that at the
time when the lion means to come

ha se sé i ā:, !khwetən k''auki tymse t fūi, o haŋ ka !khwir, k''auki se tū ha, o ha: gauwa i. He tikən e:, mama-gu ka siŋ ||nau, o he: tā:, ti e:, !khwe k''auki tymse t fūi, he kukú, he ≠kaka si ā:, "||k'o:kən sauwi hi ā:, i se |ki tē:n |i _|k'wāi. Ta:, ú |ku e: tā:, ti e:, !khwe |kwēi tā, i:. Tā:, !k'e !ke!kerritən ka siŋ ≠kaka si ā:, ti e:, _||khā: ||nau, ||k'e: a:, ha ka ha se !kūitən, i-ka ||neir ā:, haŋ dā: hi !khwe, o haŋ ka, i k''auki se ≠enna ||k'e: a:, ha sa: i ā:."

to us, the wind blows strongly, for the lion does not want the dogs to hear it as it approaches us. So when they heard the wind blowing strongly, they said to us: "Bring firewood for us, that we may lie in the smoke of the fire. For you feel how the wind is blowing. For the old folk used to tell us that when a lion wants to come to our hut, it makes the wind blow, because it does not want us to know the time when it comes to us."

Wind-making. Dictated by *Dī'kwain*.

|nu-tara a:, !k'e -óā !kwi: ha |kē o ≠náā-aŋ, ha |kē kə ε |xařřaŋ-|xařřaŋ, ha kaŋ ka siŋ ||nau, !k'eja: ≠kwāi ja ha, ha-g |ne _k''wāin !k'e. Ha-g|ne ≠kaka !k'e ā:, ti e:, |k'e _||khōā káŋ ≠i, !khwe k''au a: ka ha se tsú, ha se xarra ti tsutsú, |ki |e: !k'āi o !k'e tsaxditən. Ta: !k'e tuko ||kwaŋ _dóā |ku ta: ||ka ti e:, he ||kwaŋ _dóā |ku |u: ha. He tikən e: he ka |ku ≠kwāi |ki ha, i:.

An old woman whom people called ≠náā-aŋ, her other name being |xařřaŋ|xařřaŋ, used to get angry with people if they scolded her. She said to the people that they seemed to think the wind was not going to blow as it does when it blows dust into people's eyes. But now they had felt that they disliked her, that was why they had kept scolding her.

!khwe-g ||nau, o ha: |kwēi kú, ha |k'e:, !khwe |ku ku !khu |k'ū, !khwe |ku tsú |ki |hiŋ, ti e:, i k''auki |ki ti e:, i se !gōā-ā, i:. Ta: i |km ||nau, i ka, i _hā: !gōā-i:, !khwetən |ku tsutsú |ki |e: !káuökən o i tsaxditən, i k''auki |ki ti e:, i se ||k'oen, i:, o ha _!k'wāinja i. !khweja: |ku tsutsú hóā !k'e ā: _||ka: e: he !xwarra !xwarra tā: he,

The wind arose as she spoke, it blew so that we were not able to see the place, and look around. For when we wanted to look about us, the wind blew stones into our eyes, so that we could not see, because she was angry with us. The wind blew away the people's mats on which they had been lying, the wind threw them at the

!khweja |ku !gabbetən-ā !k²e ā:
he, o ha: !k''wainja !k²e.

people, because she was angry with them.

He tikən e:, !k²e ta siŋ ||nau, he:
túú, ti e:, !k²eja !xwāŋ, !k²eja
≠kwāi ha, !k²e |ku oróko kukú,
he |k'e:, " U -kaŋ k''auki se ||xā:
u ≠kwāi |nu-tara |ke: ā. Ta i
saŋ ||xā:, i tē:ntē:n ≠ka:, o
!khweja -gabbetən-ā: hi -ā: t fweŋ,
o há: !k''wāinja i."

Therefore whenever people heard that someone seemed to be scolding her, they quickly said, "You must not scold the old woman again. For we shall be laid bare again while the wind throws things at us, if she is angry with us."

He tikən e:, ŋ !kō:ŋ !xugəndi ka
siŋ ||nau, o ha: tā:, ti e:, ts²u-tau
k''auki tymse ||ke:n-ī: ha, ha kukú,
" |xařraŋ |xařraŋ wé:, !kan bo:kən
!hóā ki, a-ka !nuŋ ||xā:xu, !khwe
am -tsu:wa ke, tsu-tau se -taija ke.
Ta:, tí taŋ, ŋ k''auki se opwain, o
tsu-tauwa ||ke:n-ā |ki ŋ. Ta: tsu-
tau |ku sū:, he tsu-tau k''auki
tymse |k'wāija. Ta: tsu-tau |ku
||xau ||ke:ŋ-ī: ŋ tsa-xāitən, he tí
|ku taŋ, !gauē saŋ |ku !khwai, o
tsu-tauwa: ||ke:n-ā |ki ŋ."

That is why my grandfather, !xugəndi used to say when he felt mosquitoes biting him badly, "O |xařraŋ |xařraŋ, pull the side of your kaross open for me, so that the wind may just blow on me and the mosquitoes leave me. For it seems as if I should not sleep, for the mosquitoes are biting me. For the mosquitoes sting, and they are many. The mosquitoes are also biting my eyes, and it looks as if dawn will break while they are biting me."

!khwe ||nau, ŋ !kō:ŋjā: |kwēi ku,
ha |k'e:, tíja |ku k''wāŋ ha: túi ŋ
!kō:ŋ, !khwe |ku -o: se tsu |ki -tai
tsu-tau.

When my grandfather spoke thus, it seemed as if the wind had heard him, for the wind blew the mosquitoes away.

Notes on |xařraŋ |xařraŋ by Diā!kwain.

|nu-tara |xařraŋ |xařraŋ |na: kaŋ
k''auki óā -|kwāija, i e: !k²e kuitən,
i |na:; ta: ha |na: opwa |ku -oā
taurutauru, hiŋ -|kwāija tó:ī. Ha
||kaurukən -|kwāija tó:ī, ha |na:-ka
|kukakən k''auki -|kwāija i-i kui-
təŋ |na: |ku, ta: ha |na:-ka |kukən

The head of the old woman, |xařraŋ-|xařraŋ was not like the heads of us others; for her little head was steep (?), it resembled an ostrich. The back of her head was like an ostrich, her head's hair was not like that of us others, it

||k^ho ti e:, tó:ĩ |na:-ka |kukən ka
|kwēi u, i:.

Haŋ ka siŋ ||nau, ha: _tai ||a:,
ha: _tai küi k'wāŋ ti e:, tó:ĩ ka
|kwēi k'o, ha _tai, i:. Ha k'auki
_tai ||kabba, ta: ha |ku ≠kanxa-
ko_tai, o ha _tai ||a. Haŋ k'auki
_tai _||kabba, ta: ha ka siŋ |ku
k'wāŋ, há ka ha !kuxe !k²ũ, o ha-
ka _tai |ku e: |kwēi ú. Hε tí
||khóä, ha ká ha !kuxe !k²ũ, o
ha-ka _tai |ku e: |kwēi ú.

ŋ siŋ |ha:ŋ-s²o |nu-tara |xařřaŋ-
|xařřaŋ o²waŋ o²pwaxaitən e:, ŋ siŋ
|ha:ŋ:s²o hε. Hε tikən e:, ha o²waŋ
a:, ŋ siŋ dá ŋ o²wai-|hĩ ä:. Ha
|kauru siŋ ||xam !kwāŋja ha xoä
|xařřaŋ|xařřaŋ, ha ||kauru !khw-
itən k'auki ||na. Ta:, ha ||kauru
|ku ≠khi≠kerre, ha ||kauru-ka ti
e:, !k²e: kaŋ |k'e: !nāũ ||neiŋ, i:,
hiŋ k'auki ó:ä ||na. Ta: ha ||kauru
ka siŋ |ku ||k^ho, i xu, hε |ku
≠khi≠kherri.

Hε tikən e:, ha o:ä ||ke||ke:ja ha
xoä, |xařřaŋ|xařřaŋ. Há-ka didi:-
tən |ku k'wāŋ ha xoä. Hε tikən
e:, !k²e ta siŋ ||nau, hε: ||k'oenjā
ti e:, ha:ka didi: k'auki a:kən,
!k²eja: k'auki |k'e: ha. Ta:, !k²e
|ku ||k'oen-ä:, hε k'auki ≠kaka.

Ha siŋ ||na !gerri, a: st siŋ ||na
ha. ŋ _||kwaŋ -oä |na: ha, hε tikən
e:, ŋ _||kwaŋ ≠enna, ti e:, ha -oä
|kwēi k'okən dí:, i:. Hε tikən e:,
ŋ _||kwaŋ ≠enna há-ka didi:. ||k'e:
a:, ŋ !naunko e !khwā: ä:, ha kaŋ
a:, ha -|ku-ka ä:. ŋ kaŋ siŋ |km
_|ka:gən dí: k'au-doro, |nu-tarakən
|ku:kən _tai.

was like an ostrich's head's
feathers.

She used when she went about
to walk as an ostrich does. She did
not walk quietly, but danced (?)
along as she walked. She did not
walk quietly, but she seemed as
if she were running away, when
her walk was like this. It seemed
as if she wanted to run away,
when her walk was like this.

I married the daughter of the
son of the old woman, |xařřaŋ-
|xařřaŋ. Therefore it was her
son of whom I made my father-in-
law. The back of his head was
like his mother's, the bulge at the
back of his head was not there.
For the back of his head was flat,
the part that people call the hare's
house was not there. For the back
of his head was flat like our fore-
heads.

In this way he resembled his
mother, |xarraŋ|xařřaŋ. His
doings were like hers. Therefore
when people saw that his actions
were not good, yet they did not
scold him. For they merely look-
ed at him, they said nothing.

She lived at the "Zak Rivier,"
where we lived with her. I used to
see her, so I knew how she acted.
Therefore I knew about her doings.
While I was still a child she died.
I had just become a youth, when
the old woman passed away.

!k²etən ka siŋ ||nau, haŋ ki |ku:-
ka, !k²e !kwi: ha |kě, o !k²etən ta:,
||ka ti e:, !khwe ka |ku ||nau, o
he: -!kwi:ja ha |kě, !khwe |ku t²u.
Ttja |ku k''wāŋ !khweja: túi, ti e:, i
-!kwi: ha |kě. Ta:, ha |ki ka siŋ
||nau, !k²eja: ||xarra |k'e: ja ha,
ha-g |ne !k''wāiŋ, ha-g |ne k''wa:,
ttja taŋ !khweja: k''wa: hī ha, o
ha tsaxdu-ka !khweitan e: |hiŋ.

Hiŋ e:, !khwe k''auki ≠kauwa,
he se |hiŋ, ta:, !khwe k''auki ta
siŋ ka, ha kwāŋ k''wa:. Ta:
!khwe ka siŋ |ku ||nau, ha ka
k''wa: é, !khwe |ku t²u, o !khwe-
tən k''auki ≠kauwa, ha tsaxdu-ka
!khweita: se |hiŋ. Ta: ti |ku ||nau,
ha k''wa:, tikən k''auki ||khou akən,
ta: !khwe |ku k''wāŋ, !khwe t²u-ta:
!k²āũ. ǃho:kaŋ k''auki tymse da-
rakən, o !khwe t²u.ĩ, o ha k''wa:.
Tikən k''wāŋ, !khwe a: |waita ha
ā:, !k²e e: |k'e: ha.

!k²e-g |ne ||nau, !k²eja: ||k'oen ti
e:, !khwe k''auki tymse t²u.ĩ, !k²e-g
|ne kuku, he |k'e:, "Ts²a-de xa a:,
|xaĩĩraŋ|xaĩĩraŋ ||khou ka ha kwāŋ
|ku ||kóā:kən !k''wain i? He ha
k''auki ka-g |ne ka ha kwāŋ !kan
!haŋ-a hī ā: há-ka !nuĩŋ ||xā:xu
e: !khwe ||xĩ: sa: !khwe, i:. He há
ka |ku ||kóā:kən |ne |dĩ |ahá: o t,
o há k''auki |ne k''wāŋ ha: ||kwa:
e !kerri. Ta: ha ka |ku k''wāŋ ha
||khou||khouka !k²u !kōā, he ha
k''auki ta-g |ne k''wāŋ ha: ||kwa:
|ki ha ||khou||khougən."

Although she was dead people used to call her name, for they believed that if they called her name, the wind would blow. It seemed as if the wind heard when we called her name. For she had been used to get angry whenever people scolded her, and to cry; it seemed as if the wind cried with her, when her tears fell.

Then the wind did not want them to fall, for it was not willing she should cry. For the wind used to blow whenever she cried, because the wind did not want the tears from her eyes to fall. So when she cried the place became unpleasant, for the wind seemed to blow the earth away. The bushes were much shaken when the wind blew because she cried. It seemed as if the wind were avenging her on the people who scolded her.

When people see the wind blowing strongly, they say, "Does not |xaĩĩraŋ|xaĩĩraŋ seem to be very angry with us? For she does not seem to want to hold the sides of her kaross together for us in which the wind hides itself. She is really doing harm to us, and she does not seem to be altogether grown up. For she acts as if her thoughts had gone astray, and she does not act as if she really had all her senses."

Wind-making. Dictated by /haŋ≠kass²o.

Si _||kwaŋ ku |ku !kaukən-ā
 ③hokən, au sī ta, !khwe se !kkwi,
 si !kaukən-ā ③hokən au ||kha. Sī
 ta, “ Oēja, ŋ kaŋ sŋ ta, !khwe se
 antau !khweija -hi, i se antau ||nuŋ
 ||e t, au _|kǎ:ō-ka ti e:. Ta:, a
 |ku a ||k’oen, wai e: _tai sa hi é;
 hiŋ |ku ||khóǎ i k’auki saŋ |ki|ki
 !nwa:, ta:, ③hokən k’auki ||na.
 Ta:, a |ku a ||k’oen, ③hokakən
 k’auki ||na, ta: wai eŋeŋ |ku e:
 _tai sa, hi e. He a |ku a ||k’oen,
 !kǎũŋ _||kwaŋ |hiŋ i:.

We are wont to beat the bushes
 when we want the wind to blow
 hard, we beat the bushes with a
 stick. We say, “ Listen, I want the
 wind to blow quickly for us, that
 we may quickly get behind the
 hill there. For you see these are
 springbok which are coming to-
 wards us; it looks as if we had not
 enough arrows, for the bushes
 are not visible, only the bodies of
 oncoming springbok are there.
 And you see the dust getting up.

“ He tikən e:, ŋ sŋ ta, i ||kǎ:
 a:-ka !khwe ta !khwi !kuŋ-sŋ, ha
 !kaukən-ā ③hokən, i se antau !ǎhát-
 tŋ. Ta:, t ta ||nau, au i !kwom-
 maiŋ-ā, !nǎŋ ka !xi:ta -hi, au
 !nwa: -||kou||kou tē wai |na:ŋ. He
 tikən e:, ŋ sŋ ta, i se |xwerri wai,
 ta: ŋ-ka !nwa: k’auki |k’waija, ŋ
 sŋ _!kwommaiŋ-ā.”

“ Therefore I want our brother
 whose wind blows hard from the
 north to beat the bushes, so that
 we may head them quickly. For
 if we shoot them running, the
 arrows keep breaking for us, when
 they hit the springbok’s heads.
 Therefore I want us to lie in wait
 for the springbok, for I have not
 enough arrows to shoot them run-
 ning.”

The winds. Dictated by /haŋ≠kass²o.

!khwe a ts²u !kuŋ so:.

The north wind.

!khwe a !kuŋ so:, he ti hiŋ e:
 _|kwa:gən e: |wérri:ja, hiŋ |ne sweŋ
 ||a, ti e:, au hiŋ tati e:, !khwe dóǎ
 !kuŋ so. He ti hiŋ e:, _|kwa:gən
 e: |wérri:ja, hiŋ |ne sweŋ ||a ti é;
 au hiŋ tati e:, !khwe !kuŋ so:.

The wind blows underneath,
 therefore clouds which are strong
 go floating there, (to the south),
 because the wind blows under-
 neath. That is why strong clouds
 go floating there, because they
 feel that the wind is north.

Wyrri.

!khwe a: ta: wyrri, haŋ a: /ku
ts²u /ki /ua: //a !khwa:-ka /kwa:-
gən. He ti hiŋ e:, !khwa:-ka
/kwa:gən /ku-g /ne i: te-n //a ti é.

!khwe a ts²u //kau !khe.

!khwe a: a, haŋ a: te²u //kau
!khe. He ti hiŋ e:, haŋ /ne /kam
!k²āū, i:, ha !khwe, ha ts²u //kau
khe.

!káuā.

!hhwe a: ta !káuā, haŋ k''auki
tym opwa ts²ūū, haŋ a: ta !káuā,
ha -k''aō. He ti hiŋ e:, /xam-ka
!k²e ta /ku-g /ne /kūita, /kūita
ohokən. Hiŋ /ku-g /ne /kūita, hiŋ
/ku-g /ne //ké:ī /i, hiŋ /ku-g /ne
kuŋ fo:. He ti hiŋ e:, hi ta /ku-g
/ne /kūitən fo:, i:, /kūitən !a fo
oho, hi /ku-g /ne //ké:ī /i, hi /ku-g
/ne kuŋ fo:.

!khwetən dōā siŋ ta:, !káuā
//kēi.

!khwetən /ne ta: //k'hwī -//xūū.

!káuōkən.

!xam-ka !k²etən /né ta, !khwe /ne
/kó:ākən, au !khwe k''auki /ne t²ūū,
hiŋ //xamki //nau, au !khwe a t²u
-//wēi, hī ta, !khweja //gōū//gōū.

Au !khwe siŋ t²ūū, he !khwe /ne
-//kukən, !khwe /ne dī kúī tā /t, au

The west wind.

The wind which lies in the west
is that which drives the rain
clouds back. Then the rain clouds
go quite over there (to the east).

The south wind.

This wind blows down from
above. Therefore it raises dust,
for it blows down from above.

The east wind.

The wind which lies in the east
blows very hard, it lies in the east,
it is cold. Therefore the Bush-
men make shelters, shelters of
bushes. They make shelters, they
light a fire, they sit warming
themselves. That is how they sit
sheltered, the shelters are close to
the bushes, they make a fire and
warm themselves.

The south-east wind
(which lies on the east wind's
horn).

The north-west wind
(which lies in the quagga's
knuckle).

The north-east wind
(so-called because it blows from
the mountains).

The Bushmen say, the wind is
still when it does not blow, they
also say, when the wind blows
strongly, that it blows a gale.

When the wind has blown and
dies away, it feels warm, because

há tati, ||kõĩṅjǎ |ne dí kúĩ tǎ |i; he ||kõĩṅ tsaxáúwa |ne ||kóǎ:kən ||ka||ka siṅ, ǐ:.

the sun feels warm, the sun's eye is burning.

He |xũ-de |ku-g |ne |hiṅ, he ||kõĩṅ tsaxáúwa |ku-g |ne ||kóǎ:kən ||ka||ká siṅ; tí |ku-g |ne ||kóǎ:kən dí kúĩ tǎ |i, au híṅ tati, |xũ-de e ||kwaĩĩ-ka tswey, ka -|kwa-kwa-tən.

Then the Pleiades come out, and the sun's eye is burning; the whole place becomes quite warm, because the Pleiades are summer's things, (summer's) stars.

!kwi a:, ha ||nau, ha |khi: tswey, ha -k"ao, há-ka !khweja -k"ao. !kwi ||nau, !kwi |khi: tsá, !kwitən -k"ao, tsá-ka !khwetən k"auki tym ǫpwa -k"ao. He tikən e:, !k²e kwitən ta kú, "I ||ká a: a, ha-ka !khwe tan -dóǎ |kwě.ĩ tǎ, au ha |khi: tswey, ha-ka !khwetən k"auki -dóǎ tym ǫpwa k"ao."

When one man kills things, he is cold, his wind is cold. When he kills anything, he is cold, for the thing's wind is not a little cold. Therefore people are wont to say, "Our brother there, his wind feels like this when he kills things, his wind is not a little cold."

Háṅ a ka ||nau, ha |na: -|kwat-tən, -|kwatta: |ne -k"ao, -|kwattən-ta !khweja k"auki -tym ǫpwa -k"ao au hí tati, !kwi a: há a: |na: -|kwattən, há -k"ao, au ha |khi: tswey. Au ha |khi: tswey, ha-ka !khweja -k"ao; hí -|khou-ĩ, au ha |khi: tswey. !khwe a !kwai, há -|kwaṅ |ku, híṅ !kwi. He tikən e:, -|kwattən ta |ne k"ao, ǐ:, au há |na: -|kwattən, -|kwattən-ta !khweja k"auki |ne -tym ǫpwa tǐü.

When he sees a star, the star becomes cold, the star's wind is very cold, because the (wind of) the man who looked at it is cold, when he has killed things. When he kills things, his wind is cold; it blows up dust, when he kills things. The wind is one with the man. Therefore the star grows cold, when he looks at it, the star's wind blows strongly.

!kuko:, a:-ka !khweja -twai-ĩ, haṅ a: ka ||nau, ha |na: -|kwattən, ||k'óǎgu, ||kõĩṅ tsaxáú ||ka siṅ, he tí |ne ||kóǎ:kən |karrakən. He tikən e:, !k²e kúitən tá ka, "I ||ká á -ka !khwe kaṅ -dóǎ |kwě.ĩ tǎ, hí k"auki twaitən ||ka: hí, hí |ku -tym ǫpwa bébéĩ, au hí k"auki tǐu ||kwě.ĩ, au haṅ tati, há-ka !khwe |ke ta |kwě.ĩ tǎ, au ha |kha tsa, ha-ka !khwe |ku bébéĩ, au hí tati e:, tí dí kúĩ tǎ |i."

When another man whose wind is pleasant sees a star, Canopus, the sun's eye is burning, and the place gets very warm. Therefore people say, "Our brother's wind feels like this, there is no other as nice as it, it blows softly, and does not blow hard, for his wind always feels like this when he kills anything, his wind blows softly, and then the place grows warm."

_|kwagən _||kwaŋ é, !k²e |ne ta,
!kwi ||nwaŋ -ã e, au _|kwagən e:
|hó-aka, au !khwe ta: -wyrri; !khwe
|ne -k"ao, au !khwe ta: -wyrri.
He tikən e:, !k²e ta |ne ta, !kwi-ta
!khwe-ja é.

!kuko: a -hã _|kauä, ha-ka !khwe-
ja k"auki tã !ke !khe, au -hi ta:
_|kauä, ha -hã e _|kauä.

ŋ-ka !khwetən k"auki twaitən ||ka
hĩ, au -hĩ -!kuŋ-s²o:, ta: hĩ |ku tã
|i, au hĩ -ts²uwa üü _|kauä, hiŋ |ne
-!kuŋ-siŋ, au ŋ |khi: tõi. Hiŋ
k"auki |ne twaitən ||ka hĩ, hĩ |ne
tym ɔpwa tsüü. Hiŋ |ku-g |ne
tym ɔpwa bebéi -!kuŋ-s²o:. He
tikən e:, ŋ ka |ku-g |ne ||khóä
!nwĩŋ, au ka: tati, !khwe |ku-g |ne
tã |i. ŋ a |ku-g |ne ||khóä -!nwĩŋ,
au ka tati, !khwe |ku-g |ne -kuŋ-
s²o:, !khwe k"auki |ne twaitən ||ka:
ha.

They are clouds, people call them a man's liver, because the clouds are black, when the wind is in the west; the wind is cold when it is in the west. Then people say, it is a man's wind.

Another one goes to the east, his wind does not feel as if it stands still, when it is in the east, it is eastwind.

My wind has no equal in pleasantness, as it is the north wind, for it feels warm when it blows the east wind away, after I have killed an ostrich. There is no wind so pleasant as it, it blows gently. It blows softly from the north. Then I put my kaross down, because the wind feels warm. I lay it down when I feel the wind in the north, than which there is no wind more pleasant.

Clouds. Dictated by |haŋ≠kass²o.

Hĩ |né ta 'koro' au |kwa:gən e
|hóäka. He tikən e:, hĩ ta |né ta,
'||khe||khe-we:, akən tuko se di akka
-hĩ ||neiŋ, ta a |ku a ||k'o'en, koro
a: -teŋ, a: -||kou -teŋ. Haŋ ||nau,
ha |kwẽ:ĩ |kĩ, haŋ -teŋ ||a, háŋ ka
ha se -||kou |hiŋ. Ha kod |ne
ko-kóä, au há tati, ha |ne -!kultən
||a:. He tikən e:, a ||k'o'en, haŋ
tẽ ||a: koro. Haŋ ||nau haŋ |ne
-||kou |hiŋ, ítən k"auki |ne se té:
|ki ha. Ta, ŋ |ku-g |ne ||xwe:, ta,

They say "jackal" to clouds which are black. Therefore they are wont to say, "O Beast of Prey, you must make the hut nice for us, for you can see the jackal lying to the south. When it (the rain) goes along like this, it will turn back (to the north-east whence it came). It turns, because it goes back. Then it lays down (jackal clouds), as you see. When it turns back, we shall not know

ŋ a k''auki |ki -!nwiŋ. He tikən e:, a dōā se di akka -hi ||neiŋ.'

what to do. For I am cold, because I have not got a kaross. Therefore you must make the hut nice for us."

!kwi gwaītən ta, '||khe||khe-we:, akən tuko se di akka -hi ||neiŋ.' !kwi |aitikən a: ka, 'ŋ |hā-we:, akən tuko se |kε|kəm se ʘhokən, a se ||khōu -|kūita -hi ||neiŋ. Ta, ŋ siŋ -|ka:ti totoro, ŋ k''auki taŋ ŋ siŋ ||xā ŋ totoro. Ta, !khwa: ||ki k''auki tā ≠hānūwa, au í ||ka:. Ta, ti e:, i kwe: -||kowwa, ī:, hī, e:, ti twaī, ī:.'

The man says (to his wife), "O Beast of Prey, you must make the hut nice for us." The woman says, "O my husband, you must bring bushes to cover the hut in for us. For I was drenched lately, I do not want to be drenched again. The rain drops do not feel nice when we are wet. When we are comfortably dry, then it is pleasant."

|nukən|nukən k''au hiŋ tá ka, '||khe||khe-we:, akən |ku a -|k'oen, -!guru e: teŋ ||a, hī e.' He kuko-g |ne kūi, '||khe||khe-we:ja, haŋ ||nau, ha |kwēi |ki, haŋ teŋ ||a, haŋ ka ha se ||khōu |kōākən. He ti hiŋ e:, ŋ ka, !khwā a, ha se ú, ha se hohó se -!kwa:, ha se ||khōu -|kūitən.'

Old men are wont to say, "O Beast of Prey, you see it is a white cloud that is floating along here." And another says, "O Beast of Prey, when it floats along like this, it is going to turn black. Therefore I want this child to go out and pick up 'asbos' (Mesembrianthemum micranthum) to make a shelter (for the hut)."

|nutara ku, 'Oēja, ŋ káy ka ŋ |k'e:, a se ú, a se ||khōu -|kūitən, ta, ŋ |ke á a, ha |ha |ku !kwai, hī k''wāŋ k''uodoro, hiŋ |ku ||khōu -|kūitən |ki ||neiŋ, au !khwetən ts²u ||khóēta ŋ-ka ||neiŋ -||kaiē, au akən kwāŋ |ku ||kerri ||na au !khwa:, au akən k''auki kōā akən ||khōu -|kūitən, au a -xu óā ≠kakən≠kakən. Ta, a ||k'oen, korowakən ||khōā se -teŋ.'

The old woman (the second man's wife) says, "Stop, I say you should go out and make a shelter; this my friend's husband works alone like a young man, putting up a shelter for the hut, while the wind is blowing through the inside of my hut, while you are screaming there about the rain, instead of building a shelter and leaving off talking. For you see a jackal cloud seems to be coming."

!kuko: a: ku, 'A -||kwāŋ ||k'oen, tikən ||khōu |hōākən, tí |ke -!kuy, hiŋ káy ||khōu |hōākən, au hiŋ tati

Another (old man) says, "You see it is getting black, the part underneath is growing black,

e:; ts²a a: !ahí sɪŋ -||a, ha ||khóǎ, ha se -mai-i ha !khe:; Ta, ha kwɔŋ, ||kwē:ī -||kwǎi, haŋ ||khóǎ, ha se !khe:; ha ;kwa se |hiŋ. Ta, ha kwɔŋ ||kwē:ī -||kwǎi, haŋ ||khóǎ, ha se tē: ||kɔroko. Ta, ha kwɔŋ ||khóǎ, ha ká ha ||khou |hóǎkən, u ha k''au |ku -||ka:ti swerŋ -||a.'

because the thing (cloud) which goes outside seems as if it would soon stop. For it behaves as if it were going to stop, that its leg may come out (the rain). It appears to be letting its apron fall. It seems to be going to turn black, as if it had not just been going along."

He ti hiŋ e:; |nuk''o á a, ha ka |ne -ku, 'ŋ |ke ta ha ||kwē:ī |ki, !kaukən -saŋ ||k'o'en, -ko: !ho, ta wai saŋ |k²attən -||ko !khe se. He tikən e:; !kaukən sa |ku ||k'o'en -||ko !hóǎ; ta, !kwi a -||ka:ŋ-a !khwa:; ha e, ha -saŋ |k²attən -||ko !khe se, au hǎ ka, ha se -tǎi tau k''oǎ.'

Then this old man exclaims, "I always want it to do so, that the children may look up the valley, for the springbok will come trotting. Therefore the children shall look up the valley; for it is a being that loves the rain, it will come trotting up in order to drink as it goes along."

He tikən e:; !kaukən -sa ||k'o'en, -||ko !hóǎ, hi -saŋ -||kǎũĩ ha, au hi -||kǎũĩ !ahí tǎ: ā; he hi |ne -swai, !k²a: ||kho ||a ha, au !kóǎkən, au hĩ ta, hi -sa: |ku-g |ne te-ten ta:; au há |ne -||hiŋ !kóǎkən. Ha ká: |ne !kuxe -||khóǎ !khe ||a:; he hi |ne -||kitən-ǎ hi |ka:gən ā, au hĩ tǎ, hi se |xǎ|xǎ -||hiŋ ||kho, au hi k''auki -||nou hi |ka:gən.

Therefore the children go to look up the valley and surround it, sticking ostrich feather brushes in the ground outside it; then they drive it (the springbok) towards the brushes, for they mean to lie in wait for it, as it retreats from the brushes. It runs to leeward, and they beat for each other, for they wish to shoot from near at hand, so they do not let the game pass their mates.

Hĩ -||kwɔŋ ka ||ke: ||ke:-ĩ||ke:-ĩ-ka ||kɔro, au hĩ ta, !khwa se -||khuru, au hĩ ||k'o'en, ti e:; há !khwa, ha ||khóǎ há se dǐ |a:; hiŋ e:; ha-ka -||ho:-a |ku ||khóǎ ||ga:; há |ne ||khou -||ka-in.

They (the Bushmen) burn the outer covering of horns, when they want the rain to disperse, when they see that the rain seems to be bringing danger, because its darkness is like night, it (the cloud) is turning green.

He tikən e:; hĩ ta |ne ||ke: ||kɔro, au hĩ ||k'o'en, ti e:; !khwa ||khou -||ka-in, hi |ne ku, "Ukən tuko se

Therefore they burn horn when they see that the raincloud turns green, they say, "You must

//ke:ja hi //koro, !khwa: d a, ha se
 /ki:ja -hi, tá, ha kwəŋ //khou
 -/ka-in.' Hi -/k'wǎi -//kwaŋ ɛ, he
 k''auki tā ≠hanũwa, hiŋ e:, hĩ ta,
 //koro-ka -//góǝ se -kóitən -!k?a
 siŋ -!gwaxu, -/kwagən se /khuru.

really burn horn for us, that the
 raincloud may disperse for us, for
 it is turning green." Its scent
 does not smell pleasant, therefore
 they want the horns' smoke to
 rise up into the sky, that the rain-
 clouds may disperse.

Hiŋ !həmmi !khwa:, au hĩ //na
 -!kauxu, hiŋ /ku !həmmi kwokwǎŋ
 !khwa:, au hĩ //na -!kauxu. Au hĩ
 //na //neiŋ, hiŋ k''auki !həmmi
 !khwa, ta:, hi /ku ko:ka !khwa:.

They are afraid of the rain when
 they are on the hunting-ground,
 they are very much afraid of it
 there. If they are at home they
 are not afraid of the rain, but they
 love it.

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF BEER AMONG THE BALOBEDU

By EILEEN JENSEN KRIGE

No one can remain long among the Balobedu without being impressed by the part played by beer in the lives of the people. On almost every occasion or ceremony of importance there is beer in evidence at some stage or other—beer passing from one group to another, beer given in honour of someone, beer as a thank-offering—so that, to the Balobedu, beer is not merely an intoxicating drink to be imbibed on festive occasions, but has great value, economic, social and religious. In order, however, to understand why this is so, it will be necessary briefly to examine how beer is made, what kinds there are, and how a beer-drink is conducted ; for, though these facts may not in themselves have very great interest, they must form the basis of any enquiry into the social significance of beer.

KINDS OF BEER

The kinds of beer in use among the Balobedu may be divided into two main classes, viz., those made of mealies and *mpoho*, a certain kind of kaffir-corn ; and those made from the fruit of the *merula* tree. But *merula* beer, delicious though it is, does not play the part that beer made from *mpoho* does in the lives of the people. It has no religious significance and its rôle in social life is not great, owing primarily to the fact that it is restricted to a particular season, when the *merula* fruit is ripe, and can not be made at any other time. *Merula* beer never passes from one group to another ; in fact, it is never carried about at all but is always drunk at the place, in the fields, where it has been made. If, therefore, anyone wishes to invite his friends to drink with him, they all have to proceed to his gardens.

Beers made of Mealies and "mpoho"

Byalooa. There are several kinds of beer made from mealies and *mpoho*. *Byalooa*, the kind most commonly drunk, takes from one to two weeks to prepare. About half a bag of mealies is put in pots, covered with water, and left for a few days to swell out and become soft. Meanwhile *mpoho* is prepared. It is taken in the proportion of one *mpoho* to two mealies, put into pots, covered with water and left for a day. Then the water is poured off, and the grain is put into another pot and covered

over with leaves. It is now left to sprout. In spring this takes a day and night but in winter longer. When the *mpoho* has begun to sprout, it is spread out to dry in the sun. On about the third day the mealies are taken out of the water and put in a dry pot overnight to be stamped next morning. They must not be too finely stamped and the husks are never removed. Half of the dry *mpoho* is also ground and then mixed with the stamped mealies. At this stage the large beer pots come into evidence. They are half-filled with boiling water, into which the mixture of mealies and *mpoho* is thrown, and then the pots are filled up with cold water. This process of mixing the mealies and *mpoho* with hot water is called "*ho loba byaloo*." The mixture is left overnight in the beer hut and next morning at about midday it ferments. It is then cooked for several hours and left till the following day. It now looks like a thick porridge. The remainder of the dried *mpoho* is then finely ground and added to the porridge-like mixture (*ho mela*), and when this ferments it will be beer. In spring it takes a day and night to ferment; in winter three to four days. Before being drunk, beer is always strained through a woven grass beer-strainer.

Mapoto. *Mapoto* is a lighter beer which takes only a few days to prepare. It is made of cooked mealie-meal to which ground, sprouted *mpoho* is added. When this mixture ferments it is drunk. This kind of beer is not as well liked as *byaloo*, but it forms part of the ordinary diet of the people. It is therefore not unusual for a visitor at a kraal to find *mapoto* on the menu when he is offered a meal. *Mapoto* has this advantage over all other kinds of beer, that it can last for as long as a week after brewing, and for this reason, whenever medicinal roots have to be administered in food, it is *mapoto* that is used.

Kepye. A non-intoxicating beer that is popular with women is *kepye*. It is sweet and hardly distinguishable from porridge and is used chiefly for feeding babies. Whenever a woman visits her old home, she will return with *kepye*, as a present from her mother to the old women of her husband's kraal. *Kepye* is made in much the same way as *mapoto*, only the porridge is thicker and the *mpoho*, instead of being added after the porridge has been cooled, as in the case of *mapoto*, is mixed with the hot porridge.

Kapea. *Kapea* is one of the strongest drinks. It is made of fine mealie-meal over which boiling water is poured, and left overnight. In the morning the mixture is cooked a little, and ground, sprouted *mpoho* is added. When this has fermented, it is cooked a second time and when cool, more *mpoho* is added. When this has again fermented, it is ready

for use. *Kapea* thus undergoes a double process of fermentation and this is probably the reason for its strength.

Kekoakoakoa. *Kekoakoakoa*, the strongest drink of all, is hardly ever taken by women and is indulged in only rarely by men. Owing to its intoxicating nature, it is strictly prohibited at the chief's kraal. *Kekoakoakoa* is made like ordinary *mapoto*, but on fermentation is cooked a second time, after which more *mpoho* is added for a further fermentation to take place. *Kekoakoakoa* and *Kapea* are always drunk privately by a man, with perhaps a friend or two. They would never be used for a beer-party. *Byaloo* is the only beer used at beer-drinks except during the *merula* season, for the other kinds of beer are either too strong or, as is the case with *mapoto* and *kepye*, are looked upon merely as foods. But the strength of *byaloo* is not always the same: early in the morning when it has only begun to ferment, it will not be as intoxicating as later on when it has been fermenting for some time. In any case, however, a considerable quantity has to be taken before it becomes intoxicating.

Merula Beers

Mokhope. *Merula* beer or *mokhope* is a delightfully cooling summer beverage. The *merula* fruit which has fallen on the ground is gathered in heaps in a cool spot in the fields. Then large pots are brought from home. By means of sharpened rib bones of animals the pips are taken out of the fruit, and then placed in one pot while the juice of the rest of the fruit is squeezed into another. The skins are thrown away. Water is poured over the pips which are then kneaded or ground with the hands or with sticks until the water is white. This white water or *letobe* is left in the field overnight and next morning the "fur" of the pips is skimmed off the top. This "fur" takes up half the space in the pot. Next the *merula* juice is mixed with the *letoba*, and left for a day or two to ferment, when it is ready for use.

Phepha. A very intoxicating drink called *phepha* is made of *merula* fruit mixed with mealies and *mpoho*. *Merula* pips are prepared in the usual way to form *letoba*. Then unripe *merula* fruit is cooked in water for about an hour, after which mealie meal is mixed with it to form a thick porridge. To this porridge the *letoba* is added, as well as sprouted *mpoho*, and the mixture is then put away to cool. It will be fit to drink in a very short time. If the *mpoho* is put in it in the early morning, this beer has to be drunk before midday else it becomes so strong that one cup is enough to make you dead drunk. For this reason *phepha*, like *kekoakoakoa*, is strictly prohibited at the chief's kraal.

In contrast to *mokhope*, *phepha* is always drunk at home where it is made privately by those who like it. It is never drunk at a beer-party.

BEER-DRINKING

Before discussing the various ceremonial occasions on which beer is drunk or pointing out the importance of beer in social life, it will be as well to mention that among the Balobedu, as among ourselves, we do find that beer may be drunk solely for the pleasure of drinking. A man may brew beer and invite one or two of his best friends to spend the day drinking with him ; or a larger beer-party may be held and the neighbours invited to come to the merry-making. At large social or ceremonial gatherings such as big dances, etc., there is nearly always a considerable amount of beer ; it helps to liven up things and to attract a crowd. Thus when an important *legota* (or *induna*) receives a message to the effect that the *Bogwera* (boys in the last of the three initiation schools) are coming to dance at his kraal, he will brew large quantities of beer in their honour. People will gather from all sides to be present at the dancing and the occasion is one of considerable importance. As it is a mark of the highest distinction for the *bogwera* to dance at his kraal, it is inconceivable to the Balobedu mind that any *legota* could possibly neglect to provide beer for the occasion.

When a beer-party is held there is always a certain amount of ceremony observed before the beer is partaken of. If it is beer given in honour of any person, he will occupy a special place on a skin mat. The host must always be the first to taste it, but before doing so, he will say what it is for. If it is beer to thank someone for a past service or favour, the host will tell this to his neighbour, referring to the beer as "water" (for others must praise the beer ; he himself must pretend it is nothing at all, nothing better than water). His neighbour will repeat his words to the next man, saying, "Do you hear what he says ? This beer is to thank so and so, etc." This will be repeated right the way round, each man *lorcha*-ing as he repeats the words, i.e., gently clapping his hands and bending sideways in respectful salutation, uttering some praise-word such as "*thobena*" or "*morena*." Finally the message reaches the guest, who will then thank his host for the honour, and this message will go the round in the same way till it reaches the host. After having tasted the beer, the host dishes some in a special calabash for the guest of honour. It would be a great insult if anyone else were to be served before him and he would show his anger by saying "*madi a elela batabi*"—the blood flows on those who stab—as an indication that the beer ought first to have been given to him, the stabber or person concerned.

In the old days it was not the custom for women to drink beer together with men ; but nowadays the sexes often drink together, though they sit apart, women on one side, men on the other.

No beer-drink can be held without the sanction of the *legota* in whose district the party is held. Thus the *legota* must be invited to every beer-party given in his district. If he is personally present he will see to it that any unruly conduct is suppressed, for he is responsible to some extent for the good behaviour of everyone in his district. As is natural, there is sometimes considerable drunkenness at these beer-parties and then fighting may break out. If anyone is injured in such a disturbance, only the man who has done the injury is held responsible. If, however, the beer-drink has not been duly reported to the *legota*, then the man who has given the party will be held responsible, for he has failed in his duty to get the permission of the district head. But a beer-drink seldom develops into a drunken orgy, because, apart from the fact that so much has to be imbibed before it becomes intoxicating, the *legota* usually exerts a considerable amount of control. At a beer-drink at which I was present, I offered some cigarettes around and several men began smoking. Makope, a woman *legota*, who was present, soon put a stop to the smoking, however, as she said it might make them vomit ! Probably she thought it would make the beer go to their heads. *Merula* beer-drinks are not subject to any of these rules and it is only necessary to invite the *legota* to the first beer-drink held.

THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF BEER

A Food

Beer made from mealies and *mpôho* is a highly nourishing food, and forms part of the normal diet of the Balobedu. *Kepye* is used for feeding babies, *mapôto* is very like a slightly fermented porridge, and so sustaining is *byaloa* that after the reaping, when beer-drinks are being held daily in different villages, many men go entirely without other food for days. As a food, therefore, beer plays an important part in the economic life of the people. But it is a very special kind of food, for it affords enjoyment above that of any other food. In addition to its value as a food, beer is a common means of exchange or payment for services rendered, and is in evidence in a number of transactions that in other tribes are conducted by means of mealies and goats.

A Means of Payment

The man who cuts skins in the correct shape for loin-cloths and skirts is, in Balobedu society, a specialist. Everybody tans skins but not everyone has the skill needed to cut out clothes. The payment for

cutting out skin clothes is made in the form of *byaloa* and usually comes with the next harvest, when the skin specialist is invited to a beer-party given in his honour, or calabashes of beer are sent to him. *Byaloa* is the kind of beer that is always used for "thanking" people, though it is permissible in the case of minor services such as the making of an axe-handle, for *mokhope* to be used.

In the payment for medical services, too, beer figures largely. When on the fifth day after birth, a doctor is called to *thusa*, (help by fortifying) a child out of the hut in which it was isolated, *byaloa* must be prepared for him then or sent to him later on. There are many other cases of minor treatments in which "thanking" beer must be sent to the doctor. When a doctor has been called in by a district head (*legota*) to *upa* the fields, i.e., to scare away troublesome birds by means of medicine, his payment comes when the crops are reaped. Every woman on this land is expected to take a small basketful of mealies and *mpoho* to the *legota*, and with this he brews beer for the doctor.

When anyone wishes to get people to help him weed his fields or to reap, in fact to help him with any piece of work, he holds a *lechema*. His neighbours are invited to come and help him and it is an understood thing that there will be *byaloa*. They all work together and sing special *lechema* songs and the occasion is a very joyful one. The wise man will, of course, serve only a little beer while they are working, reserving the greater part till later when the work has been completed!

Tanning a large ox-skin, or rather, rubbing it to make it supple, is neither an easy nor a very pleasant task, so a *lechema* is usually held for this, too. The man asks his wife to make beer, and when this is ready, he either sends a son or goes himself to invite the neighbours to the *lechema*. On the appointed day all turn up and spend the day tanning the skin and drinking beer in between whiles "to give them strength." This is done on the men's *kgoro* and while they work they sing. A common song on such an occasion is one sung in two parts, called *monyakobo botale*, which literally means "owner of the skin, cleverness," referring to his wisdom in providing for winter. On this occasion, besides beer, another treat is in store for the workers, for the scrapings of the skin are cooked and when ready, are eaten by them while they sit in a circle round the skin. Thus the *lechema*, from the economic point of view and apart from its value as a pleasant gathering, is a means of getting work done by payment in beer. Women may also hold a *lechema*, and very often if a woman's husband is away from home or too busy to make her a storehouse for her mealies and corn, she will hold a *lechema* to get this done for her.

Tribute

Beer is also used for paying tribute. In return for the land he holds from the *legota* of the district, every village head is expected to send beer to him or hold a beer-party in his honour at harvest time. This need not be done every year, however, and when the crop is a small one no tribute (*lebebe*) need be paid. If a man has not enough land for his needs and there is no more to be had in his own district, he may approach a neighbouring *legota* for a field. In return for this he will at harvest time send beer to thank this *legota*, too, for the field. The *magota* in their turn every year send five or six large pots of beer to Modjadge, the queen, in recognition of the land they are holding, and it is a pleasant sight to see the girls, in single file, wending their way to the royal kraal singing joyful songs as they go. The heavy pots on their heads lend a certain grace to their movements.

When a man has been given permission to build his village and settle on the land of a *legota* he will, on the completion of the village, invite the *legota* to a beer-drink "so that he may see it." In all these instances it is *byaloo* that is sent; but we do find that at the beginning of the *merula* drinking period, it is the duty of every headman to invite the *legota* to the first *mokhope*-party he holds. This is called *mokhope oa chidi*—the *merula* beer of the black medicine—because, just as none of the first fruits may be eaten before they have been tasted in an attenuated form with medicine, so no *mokhope*-party should be held prior to this first one in honour of the *legota*.

Putting others under an obligation

If the giving of beer is a means of fulfilling ones obligations or paying for services rendered, it can also serve the purpose of putting others under an obligation to you. If a woman makes a lot of beer (about ten calabashes or so) and takes this to her son-in-law, he is in honour bound to give her a goat or more in return. Advantage is quite frequently taken of this custom by poor people to get help from their relatives-in-law and even from friends, and it will then be understood that help is needed. To give the required help is purely a matter of honour, for if nothing is given in return for the beer, the matter cannot be taken to court. But this would never happen and such conduct is, in fact, inconceivable, especially on the part of a man to his wife's people. This usage is, however, not merely an economic one for it has wider significance. It is a method of gift exchange, the function of which is to keep up friendly relations between a man and his wife's family. Once or twice every year, every mother-in-law brings beer to her *tsetse* in return for which he

will give what he can—£1 or 10s. or a goat. A man feels very proud when these gifts of *byaloa* are brought, and may even boast about them to show how well he is liked by his relatives-in-law. If, on the other hand, his mother-in-law neglects to bring these gifts, the *tsetse* will feel slighted and will probably complain bitterly about it when he is drunk.

SOCIAL AND RITUAL VALUE OF BEER

Reconciliation Beer

Beer is of far more than mere economic importance in the lives of the Balobedu, for it has also great social and ritual value. A beer-drink is a happy sociable event and nothing makes people more friendly to one another than common participation in a beer-drink. For this reason beer is the usual means of bringing about any kind of reconciliation between persons who have injured one another. A case that I witnessed illustrates this function very clearly. It was a court case at the head kraal in which an old man had married a young girl. The girl had obviously been married against her wishes and ran away to some relatives. The old man complained to her parents, who took measures and forced her to return. They also paid the customary fine to the injured man, and apparently there was nothing left for the court to do. To my surprise, however, the court, having approved of the prompt steps taken, ordered the parents to brew beer for the injured party and thereby re-establish proper equilibrium between the families concerned. If father and son have a quarrel and go to law, there cannot be a fine; instead, the guilty party is ordered to make beer for the other and so put an end to the quarrels.

In the old days it was essential that a bride should be virgin and one of the most important articles taken by a girl on leaving home with her companions for the bridegroom's kraal was the virginity calabash. It was carried by the leader of the girls and was decorated with beads and red ochre. The bride was always examined by the old women of the boy's kraal, and if she was found to be virgin, the calabash would be kept and they would utter cries of joy. If the bride was not virgin, a hole was pierced in the calabash and she was sent home with it. Such an occurrence was regarded as an injury to the boy's family and might be a cause of endless trouble. The girl's family would therefore do all in their power to re-establish the good relations thus jeopardized. Beer would be brewed and with this the girl would be sent back to conciliate the boy's family—another good example of beer used for reconciliation. The custom of examining the bride has, however, fallen into disuse and

though the virginity calabash is occasionally still carried by the bride it is extremely rare.

Beer connected with Marriage and Sexual Relations

In view of the importance of beer in establishing friendly relations, it is not surprising to find that in marriage, where two families are being gradually drawn together by various means, beer also plays its part. The visits of the boy to the girl's kraal, after they have become formally betrothed, extend over a number of years and are not directly concerned with courting the girl, for in the beginning he may not even see the girl. They are largely the means of drawing the two families more closely together. The *tsetse*, as the bridegroom is called, is an honoured guest and is always treated with great hospitality. A beer-party is usually given in his honour and on these occasions he has a special round, ornamented calabash placed in a little dish, and from this he drinks his beer. He and his companion, the *makate*, are given a grass mat to sit on, a very high honour, and remain a little apart from the rest of the gathering. The *tsetse* drinks only moderately, knowing that a special pot of beer, brewed for him by the girls, will be awaiting him in the hut. All through he remains quiet, restrained and obviously on his best behaviour.

For the first three months after marriage the bride may not even speak to her husband but works for, and is under direct supervision of, her mother-in-law. This stage is terminated by the bride being taken back to her old home by her father-in-law and an old woman of his village, who bring with them a goat called the goat "to pour out her present state." This marks the end of the days of the girl's virginity and is a necessary pre-requisite before the marriage can be consummated. While the girl is at home her mother brews beer (*byaloo*) which she is to take back with her to her parents-in-law. This beer is important, for it will "open a way for her mother to her new home." Up to now the mother could not visit her daughter at all.

Before the marriage can be consummated a further ceremony is necessary, called *ho takantsoa*, which amounts to a mixing of the "essence" of the two people concerned, a sort of mutual inoculation. The doctor scarifies both parties on various parts of the body, mixes their blood and applies the mixture, together with medicine, to the wounds. An essential part of this *takantsoa* ceremony is that weak beer (*mapoto*) which has been specially prepared is brought in a vessel into which both boy and girl are made to spit. Newly-dug roots, given by the doctor, are thrown in the *mapoto*, and after three or four days when the sap has become well mixed with the *mapoto*, the young couple ceremonially

drink together from the same calabash. *Mapoto* is the only beer that can be used here for no other beer will keep so long. The whole ceremony is supposed to remove the danger of sexual intercourse to the boy and to make the couple one.

It is also dangerous for a man to have intercourse with a woman who has procured an abortion. He will contract *ndere*, the dreaded coughing disease (tuberculosis?) unless he is specially doctored, and in this case the medicine must be taken in *mapoto*. The doctor will give him roots or herbs to put in the beer, but the most important ingredient is always part of the abortion itself mixed with dung. The medicine used for weaning babies and make them "forget" the breast is also given in *mapoto*.

Beer in Initiation Ceremonies

It is essential during the *Wodika* (circumcision school) that there should be plenty of beer for the older men. That is perhaps one of the reasons why the school is always held after the harvest, and it is the reason why the school can never be held if the crops have not been good. There must be plenty in the land. But apart from this fact, which can hardly be considered as significant, there is one occasion during the course of this school on which beer is of great ritual value. The most important change, the turning point for the boys in the school, is marked by a ceremony in which beer plays a conspicuous part. This takes place towards the end of the school and is the first aggregation rite by which the boys are to be incorporated into the group of the adults. The women are ordered to prepare *byaloo* which is brought to the school. Into one of the pots the doctor puts medicine consisting of black powder, and each boy has to sip a little of the mixture. Hitherto they have not been allowed to drink anything at all, not even water, and the beer is the first liquid, therefore, that passes their lips from the beginning of the school. From this moment several taboos are lifted; the boys may drink water and eat meat, both of which were taboo before. Most important of all, however, is the fact that from now on, instead of having to face west in the morning when they are being instructed at the sacred fire, the boys must face east. This symbolises a change from the darkness and ignorance of their childhood to the light of manhood. This stage of the initiation ceremony is called *ho fetolela* and the medicine is said to "stop the sickness in the wind" from the east, and prevent the boys being hurt by anything when they return home.

At the end of the *khoba*, the initiation ceremony of a girl at puberty, when the girl is finally aggregated into the stage of womanhood

and allowed to take off the red ochre and clothes she had to wear during initiation, special beer is brewed to mark the occasion. This is called *byaloa ea dikhoba*, and all the women of the neighbourhood are invited to come and drink it. Sometimes, if the crops have been plentiful, beer may be made to "wet the throat" of the woman (never her own mother) who has been the girl's "school mother." This beer is partaken of on the *kgoro* at the end of the period of isolation, about a month before the red ochre and old clothes are discarded. It is called *keteke* beer but is sometimes also called *byaloa ea dikhoma*.

Beer connected with Death Ceremonial

On the day of burial of a married man or woman beer is prepared, which, when ready, will be used for the special purification that has to be undergone by the widows or the widower. This is called *thoni* beer. When a death has occurred in a village, the people and more particularly the near relations, are supposed to be "hot," for the spirit of death has touched them. After the burial, therefore, the doctor sprinkles medicine over everyone in the village and over the hut in which the death occurred. This hut is also freshly smeared with dung. Everyone now has to shave and from this moment till the end of the mourning period no one is to cut his hair. The widows, however, stand in special danger, and they therefore have to receive special treatment. When they have been shaved, the doctor ties a medicated string called *thoni* round their heads, and in this is placed a hedgehog quill, which is supposed to make them forget their husband and not fear him when they think of him. They have now to be isolated in the hut of the deceased until the *thoni* beer is ready. In a few days time, when the beer is ready, the doctor is called. He will put medicine into the pot of beer and take it with him into the hut. With a medicated knife he cuts the *thoni* and then gives the widows the *thoni* beer to drink, after which they are allowed to come out of the hut and mix with the rest of the kraal. In the case of the death of a woman, her husband is isolated until the *thoni* beer is ready, but he does not wear a string round his head.

The mourning period lasts from a few weeks to a year, depending on whether the deceased was a mere child or an important headman. The end of the mourning period is marked in every case by the drinking of *kechila* beer. The word *kechila* means dirt or defilement, and it is to get rid of the defilement of the mourning and death that the beer is drunk. Before drinking this beer, however, it is necessary to find out by consulting a doctor, whether the death was caused by *Modimo* or by witchcraft. If any person is pointed out as having caused the death, the

relatives of the deceased send someone to him to say, "Come and shave us," for they are all shaved on the day of *kechila*. The man will understand the accusation and will immediately gather round him his own friends prior to setting out to the *mokome* or smelling-out doctor, who will make the final decision. All the relatives of the deceased, those on his mother's side as well as those on his father's, are present when the *kechila* beer is drunk; but before this is done the *rakhadi* (father's sister) will call upon the ancestors to tell them the cause of the death and ask them for their blessings and protection. She does not include the name of the deceased in the list of ancestors, because it is thought that he is acting as a child or servant, who works for the older spirits, fetching their water and making their fire, and a child is never told important matters. Only when his spirit begins to cause trouble, perhaps a year or two later, will he be called upon and propitiated with the rest. By drinking the *kechila* beer the defilement of death is finally got rid of and the bonds the living relatives uniting renewed and emphasized.

Installation of a new legota.

In the case of the death of a *legota* there is a further ceremony after the *kechila* and here again there is beer in evidence. The entrance to the *kgoro* used while the *legota* was alive has to be closed and a new entrance made by the doctor. At this ceremony for barring the old entrance (*ho thiba kgoro*) all the people under the *legota* are asked to be present. Much beer will have been brewed and for three or four days there will be feasting. The queen must always be informed before this ceremony takes place and in cases where the *legota* was related to her she will send one of her councillors to represent her at the feast. On this day all the fires in the village are put out and the cooking stones thrown away. Then new stones are obtained and a new fire kindled in the new *legota's* kitchen hut and from this, first the *kgoro* fire, and then the others in order of precedence are re-kindled. Towards sunset beer is offered to the spirits and a little later the spirits (*dajane*) are heard in the bush near by. They come with a great noise, blowing reeds and flinging stones into the village. (The part of the *dajane*, who, of course, are only heard, never seen, is played by old trusted men from neighbouring villages). A man from the village then takes a pot of beer to the bush for the *dajane* and they subside, appeased. Thus the ancestors make it quite clear that this is an important occasion for them too, and that they take as lively an interest in family affairs now as they did when alive. Sometimes the new *legota* decides to establish a new village, in which case the *thiba kgoro* ceremony must still be performed, only his instalment comes later when his new hut is built.

Some months later, beer is prepared, either in the *legota*'s own village or by his representative or "mother" (*mmabona*) at the queen's, in which case the *legota* has to supply the mealies and *mpoho*. Then he and his father's younger brother, who in the interval between the two regimes had acted for him, his messenger, and his father's sister and various other women who carry the beer, repair to the head kraal. Through the *mmabona* they inform the queen that the beer is there and they want to show her that this man is their *legota*, so that she may know he is her son. The beer is drunk by the men and woman of the two villages, the queen being present and partaking of the beer. The *legota* will now remain with the queen for a few days and will receive presents from her. It is thus, by means of beer and presents, that the bond between the queen and every new *legota* is established and made firm.

If a new village is to be built for the *legota*, all the people on his land must do their share in building the chief sleeping and kitchen huts. In addition, all must contribute beer for the occasion. Then on the appointed day all come together, the doctor chooses the spot and doctors the fence and chief gate, poles are cut and grass fetched, and in a short time the work is completed. There is great joy and merrymaking and the beer for this occasion is known as "beer for building for the *legota*." In this manner the people on his land show their acceptance of their new *legota*.

PART PLAYED BY BEER IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

While beer plays an important part in the economic and social life of the people, it can be said to dominate their whole religion. In almost all religious rites beer is essential. The importance of beer in religious matters is primarily bound up with the sacred character of *mpoho*, the grain from which it is made. Beer is the food of the gods; but the beer of the gods is made of pure *mpoho*, ground and mixed with water, and called *matatsoa leselo*—the washer of the winnowing basket. That *mpoho* is not regarded in the same light as other grains is clearly shown by the fact that in the old days it could not be planted before the spring *Komana* ceremony had been held, nor reaped until after the autumn *Komana*, by means of which the queen, on behalf of the tribe, invoked the blessings of the tribal ancestors.

The blood sacrifice is rare among the Balobedu, the beer-offering being the usual method of propitiating the ancestors. When the gods are causing illness, beer is offered to the ancestors by being poured on the shrine (*tukula*) or on the ground, while they are called upon in prayer.

Often, in cases of sickness, the *tukula* ox, the ox of the spirits which represents the ancestors, is also given beer to drink, for it is thought that the gods are hungry.

In the consecration of the *tukula* ox beer is also important. Every lineage should have such an ox which must be replaced by another when it grows old, when a new *legota* is installed as successor to his father, or when the ancestors make it known that they want meat, e.g., in cases of extreme illness. The killing of this beast is a very solemn sacrifice. First of all the divinatory bones must be thrown by the doctor to discover the wishes of the ancestors as to the colour, etc., of the new *tukula* beast and whether any special person is to do the killing of the old one. *Matatsoa leselo* is also prepared, and before the beast is killed, it has to be brought before the chief hut of the kraal where, standing beside the shrine, it is made to drink this beer. The empty calabash is left beside the *tukula*. When it has finished drinking the women *mokhulukwane* (sing out in a high pitched cackle) to show their happiness, and if the beast passes water it is thought to be a good sign.

The beast is then taken to the cattle kraal where it is killed in the proper manner. The eating of the sacrificial meat takes place outside the chief hut at sunset ; but before any of it is eaten the new *tukula* ox is brought to be consecrated and presented to the gods. It is given *matatsoa leselo* to drink out of the same calabash as the last ox and while it drinks the *rakhadi*, i.e., the father's sister, an old woman past child-bearing age, who is the officiating priestess in all religious ceremonies, prays and asks the gods to accept the new beast. The meat is then eaten by all present, while small pieces from all parts of the ox are placed on the shrine for the spirits. The bones must all be carefully collected and buried in the mound forming the shrine.

The most important religious ceremonies are those connected with the agricultural year and here, too, beer is important. Every year, in the old days, before the crops could be planted, a ceremonial visit was paid by certain people from the royal kraal to *Daja*, the sacred forest where all the old chiefs are buried. They took with them beer for the gods, which was poured on the graves to conciliate them and put them in a good mood for the *Komana* which followed. This *Komana* was a ceremony held principally for rain, and it was said that through the *Komana* the chief talked to the ancestors to ask for rain. This being the case, it was essential that there should be much beer at the *Komana*.

The *Daja* and *Komana* ceremonial is no longer held ; but the thanksgiving beer-offering at harvest time still takes place every year. It is

considered very important indeed and may be said to be the only time when the people of their own accord remember the gods. Every year, before any of the new *mpoho* may be partaken of, the lineage gathers at the village of their head for this ceremony. Special beer, made of *mpoho* only, has been prepared for the religious part of the ceremony, but also a large quantity of ordinary beer, for when the gods have been given their share, general feasting follows. The family all gather round the shrine where the *khadi*, pouring out a little *matatsoa leselo*, calls upon the ancestors by name, thanking them for the harvest and asking for their further blessing. She then sips a little of the beer and passes the cup round. After this ceremony in which the living as well as the dead members of the family have been united by means of the beer-offering, general feasting follows. At this period *mpoho* beer is also carried to the different graves of chiefs and important *magota* as a gift of food, to invoke their blessings.

The occasions that have been enumerated on which beer plays a part, are not exhaustive, but they serve to show how varied are its functions in Balobedu life. Beer is essential in the religious life of the tribe; it is in evidence in almost all ritual and ceremonial—as a celebration of important occasions, binding together different groups or individuals, effecting a reconciliation where things go wrong, while in the economy of the tribe it is not only used as a means of payment and for tribute, but is very important as a food.

[This is the second of a series of articles on the customs of the Balobedu tribe (Modjadgc's people) of the Northern Transvaal and was made possible by a grant from the Pantu Studies Research Grant Fund of the University of the Witwatersrand, which I hereby gratefully acknowledge].

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND
MEETING OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN INTER-UNIVERSITY
COMMITTEE FOR AFRICAN STUDIES

The second meeting of the Committee was held in the Council Room of the University of South Africa, at Somerset House, Pretoria, on July 1, 1932.

There were present the following members :—

Professor G. P. Lestrade (Chairman), Principal A. Kerr, Professors T. T. Barnard, E. H. Brookes, and C. M. Doke, Mrs. Hoernlé, Dr. I. Schapera, Messrs. E. H. Dutton, D. D. T. Jabavu and J. D. Rheinallt Jones (Secretary).

There were apologies for absence from Drs. W. M. Eiselen, J. A. Engelbrecht, N. J. van Warmelo and J. Dexter Taylor, Professor R. F. A. Hoernlé and Mr. Charles Bullock.

The Committee dealt with a lengthy agenda, of which the following were those of more general interest :—

Membership :

The following appointments to the Committee were reported :—

Union Department of Native Affairs—Dr. N. J. van Warmelo

High Commissioner for South Africa (Protectorates)—Mr. E. H. Dutton

Southern Rhodesia Department of Native Affairs—Mr. Charles Bullock

S.A. Institute of Race Relations—Professor R. F. Alfred Hoernlé

S.A. General Missionary Conference—Rev. Dr. J. Dexter Taylor

South African Institute of Race Relations :

It was decided to affiliate with the Institute which acts as Secretariat for the Committee, the Chairman and Professor Barnard to be the Committee's representatives on the Council of the Institute for this year.

International Institute of African Languages and Cultures :

A number of matters were dealt with relating to co-operation between the Committee and the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, especially in regard to research work in Southern Africa. Recommendations were made for a research fellowship and a research studentship under the Institute's " five year plan " of African research.

Orthography :

Several reports were received which detailed the position in respect of orthography proposals in the several language groups—Transvaal Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, and Xhosa, and these revealed that a great deal of misunderstanding exists as to the nature of the proposals. The Central Orthography Committee which is to continue under the aegis of the Inter-University Committee, was asked to take steps to explain the orthographies and to publish explanatory texts in suitable journals.

Survey of Research Activities :

The conveners of the Committees appointed at the previous meeting, to investigate the extent of available literature, to ascertain what field work is on hand and how it can be correlated and to map out a programme of field work, brought up interim reports.

(a) Anthropology (Dr. Schapera, Convener). It was reported that Dr. Schapera is engaged on a bibliography of South African ethnography and has made considerable progress.

As regards field work Dr. Schapera said that the Transkeian and Transvaal tribes are fairly adequately dealt with by workers at present in the field, but that the Zulu, Swazi and Southern Basuto, which are least satisfactorily dealt with in the literature available, need more field workers. The Tswana-speaking tribes also require attention, and Dr. Schapera is at present among the Ba Kxatla.

The Convener urged that, to prevent unnecessary duplication of field work, in future all research proposals should be referred to the Inter-University Committee.

At its next meeting the Inter-University Committee will consider suggestions for the use of European and African students in such field work.

(b) Linguistics (Professor Doke, Convener). As a result of co-operation among members of this Committee a comprehensive report is being compiled giving detailed information on the available literature on

Grammar, Phonetics, Lexicography, Folk-lore, the important vernacular works, and the research work in hand in these fields, with suggestions for future investigations.

Importance of African Studies :

It was decided to draw the attention of the Union Ministers of Native Affairs and Education and His Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa to the following extracts from the report of the Native Economic Commission.

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"It will be evident from the general tenor of this Report that your Commission lays great stress on basing all action in regard to the Natives on an intimate knowledge of these people, of their languages, their mode of thought, their manners, and particularly of their social and economic systems. It was made abundantly clear to us how frequently misunderstanding arose and ill-feeling was generated owing to a lack of comprehension of these factors. We wish also to stress the need for Government officials being able to speak the local Natives' own languages. The general advantage to the State, in many ways, of a knowledge of the vernacular on the part of European officials, and police, is self-evident. Your Commission has also stressed the point at intervals in its Report that the failure on the part of the European to give due weight to the difference in the social heritage of White and Black has not contributed to the maintenance of good feeling between the two."

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"If the method of dealing with Natives in the Reserves which your Commission has outlined in the foregoing paragraphs is adopted, it will be necessary to devote more attention to the scientific study of the Natives than has hitherto taken place. The Universities have for some time devoted their attention to this subject, and a good deal of investigation has taken place by private research. Your Commission considers that greater encouragement should be given to such work, and that steps should be taken to facilitate co-operation between officials dealing with Natives and scientific investigators, to enable the results of such work to be used to assist in dealing with administrative questions dependent on a knowledge of Native customs."

Death of Mr. Sol. T. Plaatje.

The Committee learnt with regret of the death of Mr. S. T. Plaatje and placed on record its appreciation of his services to the development

of the Tšwana language and its literature. A message of sympathy was conveyed to Mrs. Plaatje and her family.

Teaching of Natives languages in European schools in the Union :

Attention was drawn to a resolution passed at a conference of the Transvaalse Onderwysersunie which urged that facilities be provided for the teaching of Native languages in the European schools of the Union.

Native languages in the Matriculation Examination :

The following motion was adopted for submission to the Joint Matriculation Board :—

“ That where two Native languages are selected for Matriculation the languages should be chosen from different language groups ; for example, Xhosa should not be taken with Zulu, nor Sotho with Tšwana.”

(This rule has been adopted by the Joint Matriculation Board).

Vacation Course in Bantu Studies :

The arrangements for the Vacation Course to be held at the University of Cape Town in January 1933, were noted.

The next meeting of the Committee will be held at Cape Town on January 11th and 12th, 1933.

VACATION COURSES IN BANTU STUDIES

Vacation courses in Bantu Studies will be held at the University of Cape Town from January 3rd to 20th, 1932.

During the first and second weeks the following series of lectures will be given :— Bantu Languages (Professor C. M. Doke), The Future of the South African Bantu Languages (Professor G. P. Lestrade), Theories of Bantu Nationalism in Relation to Bantu Education (Professor E. H. Brookes), Short course on Hints for the Study of a Bantu Language (Professor C. M. Doke).

During the second and third weeks the following will be the series :— The Sociology of Tribal Life (Professor T. T. Barnard), The Changing Native (Dr. I. Schapera), Lectures on selected Bantu tribes (Drs. Schapera, Richards and others), Short course on field methods in Social Anthropology (Dr. Schapera).

There will also be a short course on Intonation in Bantu, delivered by Professor D. M. Beach.

The lectures will be held during the mornings.

Members of the courses may obtain accommodation at the Residences at £2 2 0 per week. The fee for the lectures is £2 payable on January 3rd.

Enquiries should be addressed to the Registrar, University of Capetown, P.O. Box 594, Capetown.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Notes on the Speech of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples, 181 pp. Religious Tract Society, 1932.

Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples, 192 pp. Religious Tract Society, 1932.

Notes on the Customs and Folk-lore of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples, By T. Cullen Young, C.A., F.R.A.I. 284 pp., Livingstonia, 1931.

These three publications, two printed and published in England, the third in Nyasaland, form a comprehensive trilogy dealing with an important people living on the western side of Lake Nyassa. In 1923 the author, the Rev. T. Cullen Young, published *Notes on the Speech and History of the Tumbuka-Henga Peoples*. The present volumes are to a great extent a reprint of that work divided into two volumes, with the addition of a third volume on Customs and Folk-lore. In his prefaces the author explains why he has altered the title from Tumbuka-Henga to Tumbuka-Kamanga.

The first volume, dealing with speech, is almost word-for-word a reprint of the first 135 pages of the earlier edition. It is a great pity that the author did not take advantage of this second edition for a complete revision of method in the light of Bantu linguistic studies. He is evidently an ardent admirer of Madan's "Living Speech," and has permitted that type of approach to Bantu, carried to extremes by such investigators as Kolbe, to obtrude itself repeatedly. As Meinhof wisely observes, the inter-relation of Bantu roots cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy without more knowledge than we have at present of the Bantu languages; and our author is scarcely equipped in Comparative Bantu to attempt such a thing. The exposition of Class 5 of nouns would have proved much clearer if the author had worked out the whole incidence of that most important phenomenon of nasalisation. Evidently the nasal occurs before explosives, *p*, *b*, *t*, *k*, etc., and affricates, e.g. *ch*, but not before fricatives, *s*, *z*, *f*. His Class I of nouns wants careful re-sorting, and the differentiation of Ia (with prefixless singular) should be made. It is interesting to note that Tumbuka shews trace of the original Bantu numeral concord in the use of *yu-* in the word *yumoxa* and *yunji*, for Class I, distinct from the adjectival concord. Most valuable information regarding the "copulative" is given on pp. 104-109, the prefixal changes taking place with nouns being very reminiscent of Ila. Tumbuka

employs the Eastern Bantu continuative verbal suffix *-nga*. Recognition of the "Radical" is made under the heading of "Interjectional Forms" (pp. 132 et seq.), and the author rightly observes, "It may also be said that without some familiarity with these no advance into colloquial speech can be made." One cannot help criticising the attitude that characterises African Natives as "architects of language," when they themselves are blissfully ignorant of any such architecting; but apart from this the book is full of most valuable information, and should continue to prove of real value.

The second volume, dealing with history, should prove an incentive to the recording of traditional lore in many a Bantu area. Here we have a reprint of what the author published in the earlier volume; but added to it is the remarkable experiment of including two chapters, "The Nkonde Point of View" and "A Tonga-Chewa Memorandum," setting forth tribal party views expressed by certain Natives criticising some of his findings. Mr. Cullen Young has not attempted to collate this additional information, further than briefly to answer the Nkonde memorandum. But the open way in which opposing historical views are brought out in the one book is a most healthy sign, and could well be carried out elsewhere. A long list of his informants is given on page 9, and among them we see that of the late Saulos Nyirenda, whose historical notes in Tumbuka were published in *Bantu Studies* in March, 1931.

The third volume, containing entirely new matter, is divided into three parts, Customs, Fables and Proverbs. The notes on customs are tentative outlines dealing with Village Building, Birth and Childhood, Puberty, Marriage, Taboo, Religious beliefs, Justice, etc., and should serve as a basis for further investigations by field workers. The selected fables, of the typical Bantu type, are given in the vernacular with English translations. These will prove valuable, for the collection of Bantu texts, whether of folk-lore or history, is to-day proving the ground work for the building up of literature. The book closes with some seventy-eight proverbs.

C.M.D.